

MINNESOTA HISTORY

VOLUME 22

MARCH, 1941

NUMBER 1

ST. PAUL: THE PERSONALITY OF A CITY¹

IT HAPPENS that I have been talking lately for the radio, and my subject has been experiences of my own. So when the Minnesota Historical Society invited me to speak about life in St. Paul in 1841, I rather wondered if it thought my personal recollections went back quite that far!

Of course in circles where genuine pioneer memories exist, there is quite a different view about this matter. I discovered it when I visited some small Minnesota towns in search of historical data. I found that, whereas most of us leave no stone unturned to make people think we are younger than we are, genuine old settlers often go to equally great lengths to make people think they are older than they are. "You watch out for Mrs. Higgins," old Cy Hatchet would say, "she'll try to make you think she's ninety-seven and she can't be a day over ninety-three." And Mrs. Higgins would feel obliged to warn me that Cy Hatchet would not be a hundred until next year, no matter what he said.

But this question of years and the passing of time has another relevance to our subject. There is a certain type of philosopher who says we should never look back, that the past is past and therefore nonexistent, that the present is the only reality. Nothing, I think, could be more thoroughly untrue. For whatever else a man may be, he is certainly the sum, too, of all his yesterdays, of all the circumstances and

¹An address presented before the luncheon session of the ninety-second annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, at the St. Paul Athletic Club on January 20, 1941. *Ed.*

experiences of his life. This is true I think of a nation and also of a city. It was colorfully true of St. Paul.

Now I think it is generally admitted that St. Paul among Midwestern cities was not quite like other girls, but that she had a definite personality and flavor of her own. Certainly up to the time of the last World War, that nemesis of all traditions, she did have that personality, and it is easily traceable to the circumstances of her youth. We all know what those circumstances were. In fact, we may know them too well, so that the freshness of rather unique phenomena may have been lost.

In the 1840's European civilization and culture were at a very high point. In this country, too, we had reached the high watermark of the flowering of New England, so-called—which was, of course, the flowering of that European culture transplanted to this new soil. And I think that Americans who were really civilized then were perhaps more civilized than we have ever been since, as what they took over was a very complete thing. And yet, and in fantastic contrast, out here was a world that was contemporaneous with the garden of Eden, that belonged to another geologic era and was inhabited by a Stone Age people. It was as primitive and certainly more remote, if we remember the airplane and the radio, than any part of the world is today.

To be sure throughout this Northwest a few seeds of modern life had been dropped. There were a few army posts, fur-trading posts, and missions, but they were insignificant in these trackless immensities. Right here in St. Paul we had something quite different. The log cabins among which Father Galtier built the small basilica he called St. Paul were occupied by French and Swiss artisans—of all people on earth! The reason why they were here has always fascinated me, since it seems to involve one of the greatest obstacles to human progress—namely, the fact that a certain kind of idealism with a big, self-conscious "I" is so often not accompanied by common sense.

These people were refugees from Utopia. Along with other martyrs to a good intention, they had fled from the asylum established for them on the windy plains of Assiniboina in Canada by the good Earl of Selkirk. Most of those who did not die of starvation resulting from floods, droughts, plagues of grasshoppers and rats, or who were not murdered by bands of *bois brûlés* set upon them by a fur-trading company, came south and settled at different points along the Mississippi. *We* got some Swiss artisans, and contrary to a recently expressed opinion, they were pretty good citizens. The disreputable element was provided by the French half-breed voyageurs and illicit whisky traders, mostly of American extraction, who also settled in the neighborhood.

But St. Paul did not take its stamp from any of these groups. It was to take that stamp from privilege rather than underprivilege. And the greatest single factor was America's oldest and most aristocratic commerce, the fur trade. This commerce was royal in its origins. Among the British, its first head was the cousin of England's most fashionable king, Charles II. Its first charter was issued to a group calling itself the "Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay." Its members were, with one exception, princes, dukes, earls, and knights, one of whom was to become a king. When their governors landed in the New World they were dressed in scarlet and gold lace and they never seemed to take a step without the music of fifes and bugles. The royal connection still goes on. When the then Prince of Wales visited Canada a few years ago, the Hudson's Bay Company tendered him the traditional tribute of two elk and two black beaver.

The Hudson's Bay Company's most important rivals, the Nor'westers, carried on in the same high style. When the Montreal partners of the Northwest Company set out to meet the wintering partners at Michilimackinac, their birch-bark canoes carried champagne and silver plate, French

cooks, and valets to dress them for dinner. Our own great American Fur Company followed somewhat the same tradition. Its founder, John Jacob Astor, did not come from the so-called upper classes, but many of the partners in charge of the wilderness posts did.

I have never heard that the terms aristocratic and ethical are synonymous, yet I believe that any enterprise or group that is successful over a long period of time must have an ethics of its own, however special and limited. The ethics of the fur trade was personal, a kind of aristocracy of character. The factor in charge of a remote post had a job that was difficult, dangerous, and delicate. He had to establish a purely personal ascendancy over a tough gang of ignorant, unruly voyageurs and *engagés*, and over savages who outnumbered his men thousands to one. Indians, like all primitive people, are chiefly responsive to the aristocratic virtues—courage, integrity, leadership, and good manners. And the men who rose highest in the fur companies had these qualities. Moreover, there could be little check upon them in business matters. There was only their word. It had to be as good as their bond, and it usually was.

The men who dominated earliest St. Paul were, with a few notable exceptions, partners and ex-partners of the American Fur Company. There were Henry H. Sibley, Henry M. Rice, and Dr. Charles W. W. Borup and his partner Charles H. Oakes, who became the first bankers of the city. There were Norman W. Kittson, later a partner of James J. Hill in some of his epoch-making enterprises, and Martin McLeod, to whom much of our excellent educational system was due. It was, I think, the forcefulness, elegance, and large gesture of these men that gave to St. Paul its most characteristic tone.

But there were, of course, other factors. Let us turn for a moment to geography. Here both positive and negative elements are involved. There were no mines at St. Paul to attract large groups of unskilled workers. On the other

hand, our position at the head of navigation on the Mississippi attracted merchants and men interested in transportation and finance. Along with them came lawyers, of whom St. Paul has always had an exceptionally distinguished list, as well as professional men of all kinds.

Our geographical position had other effects. Contact with a wild country has an influence on personality. There is a liberation, a deep appeal to primitive instincts, that are the danger and the fascination of the frontier. It is too heady a draught for the weak, of whom we had a good many, but an inspiration and a stimulus to the strong, of whom we had a great many more. Then, too, the beauty of this place had its effect. We have forgotten how very beautiful it was, with the magnificent groves of hardwood trees that covered the bottom lands, the waterfalls, streams, and wild flowers.

St. Paul also had what was then considered a perfect climate. People mostly came by steamboat, so it was always summer when they arrived, and always, according to them, on a delicious and sparkling day. You and I can remember a great many summer days in St. Paul that were neither delicious nor sparkling, but the spell of the wilderness is not upon us.

And, finally, St. Paul was a famous health resort. Just as now everybody rushes away from here to California or Arizona to get rid of a cold, so in those days they rushed away from everywhere else and came here to get rid of a cold. And many of them never left.

In that early formative period St. Paul changed continuously and rapidly. The most important year after 1841 was 1849, the year in which Minnesota became a territory. Sibley was the man sent to Washington to bring it about. His home town of Mendota was suggested as capital of the territory. This would have meant a fortune to Sibley, but it was he who insisted that the capital be St. Paul, a very characteristic incident.

We were fortunate, too, in the young lawyer and Congressman from Pennsylvania who was made governor, Alexander Ramsey. And incidentally, when the Ramseys left Pennsylvania their neighbors were not sure whether they would have to cross the Isthmus of Panama to get here or sail around the Horn. Ramsey was a man of the greatest ability, soundest common sense, and a remarkable public spirit. These facts, and the fact, too, that his wife was a woman of rare distinction, played an important part in making St. Paul what it was.

A notable date of that year 1849 is April 28, the birth date of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, then the *Minnesota Pioneer*. Its founder, publisher, editor, and chief reporter was James M. Goodhue. He was a fiery, uncompromising man and a very well-informed and humorous one as well. His very fine paper reflected these characteristics. There were no telegraph wires to St. Paul and the news came by stagecoach and steamboat. The foreign flashes were months on the way, as there was as yet no transatlantic cable.

Goodhue was a man of very exacting standards. He stood violently for law and order, so violently, in fact, that he became involved in an incredible street brawl in the course of which he was stabbed in the stomach by the gentleman at whom he was shooting with a pistol. All in the name of law and order! Goodhue's brilliant career was cut much too short by his death in 1852, but he left a standard, not as to the best way to settle a quarrel, but in journalism, which became a part of our city's development.

This development was now to take on a violently accelerated pace, and for one of the causes we must turn to an element which was comic or tragic, squalid or picturesque, pitiful or ominous, according to one's point of view. Or perhaps all of these. I am speaking, of course, of the Indians. The town was filled with them. Their canoes were on the river, their braves in their proud eagle feathers were on the streets, performing and degrading their war

dances for pennies thrown to them by tourists. Contact with us had already badly demoralized them.

This was Sioux land. The territory east of the river had been ceded in 1837, but the rich prairies stretching westward from the river were still Indian lands. Our intention toward this territory was clearly stated. It was even depicted on our first great seal of Minnesota. On it we see the noble white man with his plow on one bank of the river, and, on the other, the noble red man with his horse riding away toward the sunset. The fact that the sunset was placed in the East "dulled not," as one historian puts it, "the keen message of the seal." The motto on our first seal was, "I fain would see what lies beyond." And a very lovely motto it was! But it was written in Latin and was so misspelled that it meant nothing at all. It was subsequently changed, however, and the sunset, too, has been moved.

Within two years after the territory was formed, the Indians were persuaded to cede all their lands as far west as the Red River and Lake Traverse, with the exception of certain tracts retained by them along the Minnesota River. With this treaty the wilderness was annihilated. Soon a great tide of immigration began to pour into that land and most of it flowed through the St. Paul gateway of the Northwest.

Our city began to grow with phenomenal rapidity—much too fast, because we now entered into that peculiarly American, and, while it lasts, delicious frenzy known as a boom. But first let us glance at this new hustling city. It is summer in the early 1850's, and it is, of course, a delicious sparkling day. Twenty or thirty white steamboats are tied up at the dock, the streets are crowded, and everybody moves fast. The fragrance of the woods is mixed with the clean smell of new lumber, for buildings are going up everywhere, and the sound of hammering fills the air. There will be, too, a few shots, if a band of Chippewa meets a band of Sioux, or if a gentleman standing in his office door happens

to spot some prairie chickens across the way. But no matter how noisy the day, when evening comes almost the silence of the wilderness returns. It is so still that the clear bugle calls at Fort Snelling can be heard, and the roaring of the waterfalls above St. Anthony.

These waterfalls, and those of Minnehaha, were the mecca of the tourists, as waterfalls always are. I'm sure I don't know why. And the next sight to see was a colorful gypsy-like encampment out about where Montgomery Ward's now is. Here were hundreds of wild half-breed buffalo hunters down from Canada, with their wives, children, dogs, oxen, and the carts in which they had brought furs from the North to be shipped to the East and to Europe. For St. Paul had now become an international port as well as a portal of empire in the Northwest.

We had almost too much to offer and it went to our heads. We got the idea that city real estate was worth its square inches in gold and there was a wild scramble to buy it. A real-estate sign appeared on every other office. Men stood on street corners with maps, hawking town lots like peanuts at a fair. Prices soared, interest rates soared, everything and everybody soared. "Big time" gamblers, swindlers, fly-by-nights, too, who had been following the gold rush to California now came here. Money was spent like water, but not *for* water. It was spent, we are told, for fast horses, fast women, wine, and cards. Wine in incredible amounts, and stouter liquids too, were shipped into the city—and not for the sporting element alone. Dinner tables bright with ancestral silver displayed half a dozen different shaped wine glasses, and groaned, as the phrase is, under the feasts of oysters and wild game. Horses and carriages as smart as could be seen in New York City pranced about our unpaved streets, and everybody knew he would very soon be a millionaire.

Adolescent St. Paul was riding for a fall and got it. The panic of 1857 hit the town like a cyclone. Real-estate prices

dropped to nothing. Seventy-five per cent of the businesses and individuals were ruined. Money almost disappeared and script was used for several years. Half the population, including most of the dubious and disappointed adventurers, also disappeared. An amusing footnote to that disastrous year of 1857 states that a certain William Markoe built a very handsome balloon and that it, too, crashed—very appropriately—during the territorial fair and nearly killed several people.

The sober citizenry—or is sober quite the word?—the genteel and elegant citizenry, pulled in its belt and began to rebuild the prosperity of the city. St. Paul's childhood from 1841 to 1849, its adolescence from 1849 to 1857, are over. The town is almost grown up, with the outlines of its personality well defined. We shall understand that personality better when we have heard what some of the ladies have to say.

One of the earliest of these is Miss Harriet Bishop, who came up the river in 1847. She is the author of almost my favorite book, and a lady with the kindest heart and the most dreadful prose style in the world. She was St. Paul's first schoolteacher, first Sunday-school teacher, and the founder of the first woman's club—a sewing circle organized to raise money for the first schoolhouse.

In her book, *Floral Home*, Miss Bishop disapproves of a great many things. She disapproves of St. Paul society because "the *bottle* was the unfailing attendant on *every* occasion." She disapproves of the nakedness of the savages. But in revealing a proposal of marriage made to her by a young Sioux Indian, she does not forget to tell us that he was exceedingly handsome, with eagle eyes and a deep sonorous voice. She adds that upon being refused, he tried to borrow a dollar.

But Miss Bishop is not characteristic of what we are examining today. That thing is wonderfully expressed in a single sentence written by a lady who came up the river in

1852. As her boat was approaching the city, she says, "Our stately dames had arrayed themselves in rich silks, with embroidered shawls and bonnets of delicate gauze, to enter the capital of Minnesota."

And well they may, because they will find plenty of stately dames with silks and shawls as good as theirs when they get there. As early as 1849 we read of an exclusive best society. The circle gave a Christmas ball that year, and met too at the house of Mr. and Mrs. Henry M. Rice on New Year's afternoon. But there the male guests, although a contemporary writer assures us they were all gentlemen born and bred, did not do so well. In fact the writer compares them unfavorably to the Indians, who also called. The Indians sat peacefully on the floor until Rice gave each of them a loaf of bread, when they departed with dignity. But the gentlemen born and bred both arrived and departed a little on the bias, causing the ladies to burst into tears.

A letter writer of the 1850's tells at some length about this exclusive circle. Her brothers are Indian traders, not of the fine old fur-trading tradition, but annuity traders, which was not too good. This does not, however, infringe upon her sense of her family and social superiority. Her brother brings an agent and his wife to call. "Was glad when they departed, they were such *plain* people." She goes to a cotillion at Mazurka Hall, "not attended by newcomers, therefore quite nice." She is invited to what she calls a "pleasant little mob" at the governor's, and adds complacently "very select." She makes and receives, of course, innumerable calls. Would you like to hear what she wears while waiting to receive a visitor? "I have on my new de-laine and black silk apron. When not busy I put my hands in my pockets, as I have my rosettes on my wrists." Although she makes many visits, she does not call on the Y's, having heard that "*she* is not quite a lady." She does call on Mr. R.'s bride, but only because she has to. "'Tis said

her father is a mechanic in Hartford. Too bad to let such a rumor get about." That sentence, I think, tells more than a chapter.

But this is only a small part of the feminine side of St. Paul's personality. These ladies did a great deal more than dance cotillions, or leave cards on the elite, or raise their eyebrows at those who were not. They attended church very regularly—the Episcopal, Neill's Presbyterian, and various other churches, Catholic as well as Protestant. Also, the pest of lectures was in full swing. St. Paul's first fire engine was, in fact, paid for by a "series of instructive talks." But it was in something else these ladies showed what they really were. It was in sickness, in childbirth, in death. No trained nurses then. It was the friends who did the nursing, who looked after the children and the household of the sick, who helped deliver the babies, and lay out the dead.

We must remember, too, the dreadful discomforts. No central heat in those hastily built houses. No plumbing. No running water, hot or cold. No gas or electric lights. Nothing but oil or candles. The town, moreover, was entirely cut off from the world during all those long cold winter months. No way in or out, except by occasional stagecoach to La Crosse or Prairie du Chien. Yet I have almost never read one single word of complaint—nothing but delight in that beautiful new land, or, if the memoirs were written much later, a woeful nostalgia and pained regret that St. Paul should have changed so continuously for the worse ever since. Of these ladies one husband writes: "Ah, what do we not owe to the wives and mothers of that time. How well they did their part. Many of us would have fallen by the wayside, but by their prayers and helping hands, they made us rise again and face the stern realities with courage."

And so we leave St. Paul reaching maturity at the time the nation faces the crisis of the Civil War. Her personality is formed. It is partly a genteel and partly an aristocratic

personality, with the faults and virtues of its type. It has elegance, complacency, and a great capacity for seeing what it wants to see and for not seeing what it doesn't. Time has made us see its faults. I wish it could give us the strength, the high spirit, and the high heart to emulate its virtues.

GRACE FLANDRAU

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

AN UPPER MISSISSIPPI EXCURSION OF 1845

IN 1823 THE STEAMBOAT "Virginia," first to ascend the Mississippi to Fort Snelling, carried supplies to that frontier post. A dozen years later George Catlin, the painter of the American Indian, excited over western scenery, wrote enthusiastically about a "Fashionable Tour" for America made possible by the rapid development of the river steamers.¹ By the end of another decade excursions from St. Louis to the Falls of St. Anthony were no longer a rarity, but St. Louisans and visitors to the West did not find their interest or pleasure dulled by the knowledge that every week or two one might leave on a vacation tour upstream. In June and July, 1845, for instance, at least four steamboats took parties of pleasure to Fort Snelling and the falls.

Early in the summer advertisements in the St. Louis newspapers called the "attention of those who would escape from the heat, toil and anxieties of the city, for a few days, and spend the interval in reviewing some of the richest scenery in the west" to trips of the "St. Croix," the "War Eagle," the "Iowa," and the "Time." All were bound for the Falls of St. Anthony on the upper Mississippi. Tourists who made the trip sometimes reported their experiences, contributing to the St. Louis papers articles bearing such titles as "An Hour among the Winnebagoes."² A visit to the Falls of St. Anthony doubtless was responsible for an enthusiastic

¹George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, 2: 129 (London, 1842). Catlin's remarks are quoted by Theodore C. Blegen in an article on "The 'Fashionable Tour' on the Upper Mississippi," *ante*, 20: 378.

²*Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), June 23, 30, July 7, 1845; *Weekly Reveille* (St. Louis), July 21, 1845. For general accounts of steamboating on the upper Mississippi, see George B. Merrick, *Old Times on the Upper Mississippi* (Cleveland, 1909) and William J. Petersen, *Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi* (Iowa City, 1937).

description of their wild beauty that appeared in the *Weekly Reveille* of St. Louis for July 14, 1845. The most interesting account of a river excursion that found its way into the columns of a St. Louis newspaper in that season, however, resulted from the trip of the "Time" late in July. Among its passengers from Nauvoo northward was a health-seeker who reported his impressions of the upper Mississippi in eleven letters to the *Reveille*. These communications, which are signed "A Dead Man," are the basis for the present article.³

The correspondent who chose to write over this facetious signature has not been definitely identified, but it is likely that he was Joseph Lemuel Chester, an eastern journalist who later achieved a reputation as a genealogist. It is known that Chester arrived in St. Louis before the end of June, 1845, a sick man, for the *Reveille* declared on the thirtieth that the friends and readers of "Julian Cramer," the pseudonym under which Chester usually wrote, "will be glad to learn that he has arrived safely in this city in improved health." Chester was sufficiently alive to contribute several pieces to the *Reveille*.⁴ As a sick man, he might logically have made the trip from St. Louis to the Falls of St. Anthony, for the upper Mississippi country was receiving wide

³ The letters appear in the *Reveille* from August 4 to 25, 1845. They are quoted here from files of the newspaper in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society and the Mercantile Library, both of St. Louis, and the Newberry Library of Chicago. For assistance in the preparation of this article, the writer is indebted to these libraries as well as to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Washington University of St. Louis, the National Youth Administration, and his wife.

⁴ That the sick Chester was the literary "Dead Man" cannot be proved. Of half a dozen newspapers published in St. Louis in 1845, files of only two are available. Others might have carried stories about Chester or the "Time." For biographical sketches of Chester, see the *Dictionary of American Biography*, 4: 58-60, and the *Dictionary of National Biography*, 10: 201-203. He published his first book over the signature of "Julian Cramer" in 1843. A poem signed thus and dated at "St. Louis, Mo., June 26th, 1845," appears in the *Reveille* for June 30, and the same paper in its issue for July 7, 1845, refers to "'Julian Cramer' of the N. Y. True Sun (Mr. Joseph L. Chester,) at present on a visit to St. Louis."

acclaim as a health resort in the middle decades of the past century. It was natural also that Chester's experience as a journalist should whet his interest in a remote region that had been given considerable space in eastern newspapers.

Whoever he was, the "Dead Man," accompanied by a physician, left St. Louis on July 23, 1845, aboard the "Mendota," Robert A. Reilly, master.⁵ A few days later the boat was stranded in the Lower Rapids below Nauvoo, and the travelers were obliged to continue their journey with Captain William H. Hooper on the "Time," which left St. Louis on July 25 and succeeded in making its way through the rapids.⁶ The letters which the "Dead Man" dispatched to the *Reveille* while traveling on the "Mendota" and the "Time" are not admirable for their literary finish. There is in them, especially the earlier ones, a truculence, an incoherence, a verbiety, that one may attribute charitably to the illness of the writer and the heat and haste in which they were written. The value of this correspondence lies in the detailed account of the pleasure excursion once so popular and in the report on the upper Mississippi in the summer of 1845. Regardless of lumpy style and the prejudices of the writer, his sketches form an interesting bit of social history.

To his experiences on the "Mendota" the correspondent devoted his first two letters. The first he dated in anticipation, "Among the 'Saints' July 25th, 1845."⁷ It reads:

DEAR MOURNERS:— Having been gravely pronounced, by two city doctors and divers anxious friends, a "dead man", I took my corpse

⁵ Reilly commanded the "Mendota" in the Galena-St. Peter's trade in 1844 and in the St. Louis-Galena trade in the following year, according to Merrick, *Old Times*, 259, 280, 281, 294. In 1846 Reilly was captain of the "Atlas," and in 1849, of the "Minnesota." The "Mendota" is listed among the departing boats in the *Missouri Republican* of July 24.

⁶ For notices of the "Time," see the *Missouri Republican*, July 18, 24, 26, and the *Reveille*, July 20, 1845. A sketch of Hooper appears in Petersen, *Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi*, 446. The *Republican* gives Hooper's initials as "W. W." but both Petersen and Merrick give them as "W. H."

⁷ *Reveille*, August 4, 1845. The writer refers to the settlement of Latter-day Saints or Mormons at Nauvoo, Illinois.

on board the Mendota, as you are aware, where I must say, thanks to the tearful attentions of Capt. Reilly, Mr. Laveille^s and other afflicted friends, my body has been taken the best care of;—in fact, it is the general opinion that I will *keep* for some time to come. I need not say that this prospect is highly gratifying to one in my state, and that I consider myself as being laid up in lavender.

It is astonishing how much a “dead man” may enjoy himself, released from the cares of life, and what a lively interest he takes in matters which, under the pressure of *existence*, his mind would have forbade a thought to! From the moment when I felt myself among the departed, a sort of humanized celestiality descended upon my heart; the evening breeze, the darkening eddies of the river, the cloudy palaces of the west—even the preparations for supper—had a charm, and I felt as if, stomach or no stomach, I should yet do pretty well—for a “dead man.”

The moon lighted our path across the mouth of the Missouri, and no doubt an illumination no less dazzling beaconed us towards Alton; but not feeling inclined for a *wake* this night, I composed myself to rest, after due precautions against the mosquitoes, without seeing the famed city.

“To die—to sleep! To sleep—perchance to dream!
Aye, there’s the rub”—

And there’s the *scratch*, also!—for, albeit the Mendota’s berths are the widest, and her mosquito nets are of the closest, yet did the sundry rest-disturbers,

“With red-hot spits, come hissing in upon me!”

until breaking a toe against the bottom shelf, and bumping my head against the top partition I uttered divers deadly things as natural as life. . . .

In my former *State* (Missouri.—Edr.) I had heard a great deal about Quincy, Ill. If I had the least life in me I should probably go into fits about it, for, reaching the landing between 11 and 12 on Thursday night, I carried my body up along one of the magnificent avenues which, cut through the rocky bluffs, lead to the beautiful table land on which is built the town. Every thing was bathed in a

^sThis was probably one of the sons of Joseph C. Laveille, architect, who settled in St. Louis in 1818 and died there in 1842. His four sons were Eugene, Theodore, Bertrand, and Auguste.

sheen of silver,—the handsome square, court house, hotel, and the spreading vistas on every side of fine tall stores and dwellings! The streets are magnificently laid out at right angles, and, so far, the buildings are every way worthy of them; as far as my experience of the west goes, there is no place where "a dead man" would rather spend his moonlight nights in than Quincy.

"But hark! the cock,—the herald of the morn."

Friday morning; I find that we are "lightening," at the rapids, below Nauvoo, arrived at which place I shall carry my body to the "Temple," and afterwards inquire for a post-office.⁹ The river is falling fast; this is the last trip Capt. Reilly makes in the Mendota, he being summoned to superintend the building of a new boat, which every "dead man" is bound to hope may be worthy of him.¹⁰ Adieu — "we meet at Philippi."

"A DEAD MAN."

Progress upstream was not so rapid as he had expected; the reasons become clear in the second letter, more accurately dated than the first.

KEOKUK, July 26th, 1845.¹¹

DEAR CORPORALS:—Even a "dead man", I find, is not released from disappointment! I wrote you, last, with the full expectation of being among "the Saints" in an hour or two, and lo! here we are still, stuck fast in the middle of the rapids below Nauvoo, notwithstanding our having "lighted" at Keokuk,—a broiling operation for the live souls engaged in it I assure you. One enormous negro deck hand was the admiration of all on board; stripped to his waist, his herculean, ebon bulk bathed in perspiration, he glistened in the sun like a figure of Atlas, cut in anthracite! The fellow seemed the very incarnation of power; his huge frame was wrapped and lapped in muscle, the play of which suggested the idea of his being enveloped in the folds of a boa constrictor. Still he toiled, his broad oily back shining under immense shoulder loads,—crushing burthens, apparently, but which he tossed from him with the indifference of a giant

⁹The Mormon Temple at Nauvoo was still in the process of construction in the summer of 1845. It was dedicated in April, 1846, and was destroyed by fire in 1848.

¹⁰The new boat apparently was the "Wiota," built in 1845 and owned by Captain Reilly, Corwith Brothers, and William Hempstead of Galena.

¹¹Reveille, August 4, 1845.

and the playfulness of a child. Every one was interested in the fellow's figure and good humor, but, looking in his face, sympathy assumed no higher character. He was thorough African; no spark of intellect lit up his heavy face and deficient forehead; he was in his proper state, the cheerful dependent upon a superior race; as the slave, that negro was something to regard and even respect; as aught beyond, he would be an animal to guard against.

This morning, the *Fortune* and the *Monona* have passed down, reporting an utter scarcity of water above—pleasing intelligence to one in my situation, suggesting, as it does the great probability of my not seeing that promised paradise, St. Peters!¹² We are within ten miles of Nauvoo, however, which some few of us think of travelling "overland" to, where, if the modern Mohammed have but left his steed, *El Borak*, in the stable, I may yet reach the seventh heaven of Fort Snelling.

When it became certain that the heavily laden "Mendota" could not pass the rapids, the "Dead Man" and his companion decided to drive from Keokuk to Montrose and thence to ferry over to Nauvoo. The "Time" was expected in a few hours and they could reship for the Falls of St. Anthony. The third letter describes his overland passage.

DAVENPORT, July 28, 1845.¹³

MY SOMETIME FRIENDS:—Impatient of my mortal coil—and there was any number of them about the Mendota,—from a chain cable to the lead line, and all in a *snarl*, as well as the passengers, the one from constant employment, the other at finding themselves back again at Keokuk after an afternoon and night passed aground on the rapids,—impatient of further delay my body, with its attached and pensive companion and attendant from St. Louis, just marched ashore, arm in arm one after the other, large as life, chartered the back seats in a

¹² The district about the mouth of the Minnesota or St. Peter's River was known as St. Peter's; more specifically the name was applied to the village of Mendota. The "Dead Man" was indulging in a pun. On its arrival at St. Louis on July 27, the "Monona" reported that the "Mendota" was "hard aground at Lower Rapids, and will probably be compelled to re-ship. A little over three feet of water is reported on said Rapids." *Missouri Republican*, July 28, 1845.

¹³ *Reveille*, August 11, 1845.

light wagon, and daringly set out across the country (Iowa side) for Nauvoo, there to await the "Time," (steam boat,) expected up in some few hours—*light* "at that," the natural *heaviness* of a "pleasure trip" being as much as it would be safe to carry at this stage of water.

It was a day "made on purpose" for a ride; a partial veil of clouds and a breeze from the north, that we drank in, as it were, till eye and cheek gave evidence of our draughts. There is a fashion of straw hats peculiar to the neighborhood of Nauvoo; (a few of these hats have found their way to St. Louis,) they are *built* of broad plaits of common straw, their immense leaves sustained by "hog-chains" passing over the crown, as these strengthening links (so called) do from stem to stern of the steam boats. The next noticeable peculiarity was the height of the corn; and the next, the capital condition of the cattle;—every thing seemed to be thriving, and the new and spreading farms along the road gave evidence that the advantages of the country are fully appreciated. Iowa, in a few years, will be a garden of beauty and fertility. Our road lay along back about three miles from the river, and admiring the shifting shadows on the prairie, the excellence of the road, the unusually comfortable appearance of the cabins—above all, the *gout* with which our driver related to a friend who sat with him a bowie knife and pistol scrape, which had recently "come off" somewhere—we finally struck off towards the river again, and reaching the bluff, Nauvoo, the Temple, the glorious curve of the river, and the rich and spreading "bottom" beneath, on the Iowa side, flashed upon our vision, calling forth the most unaffected expressions of surprise and pleasure. I have never seen a lovelier prospect in all my rounds, either dead or alive! It is worth while being laid up at Keokuk to enjoy the ride and scene I mention. There stands, in the distance, the Mormon monument, (particulars hereafter,) crowning a vast slope studded with dwellings down to the river, which, in its bold and ample bend, almost encircles the site of the town. The ground taken up by the tenants and their surrounding corn-patches is immense; from our distant stand it seemed like a recent "clearing," the stumps not yet uprooted. One only object rose aloft, thrice striking from its situation and its singleness—the Temple! The view beneath us, though less striking, was no less lovely—a magnificent "bottom," bounded by a semi-circle of hills, and glorious in its garb of gold and emerald. There is not such a

site for a city as that at Nauvoo on any of the western rivers, and he who selected it—impostor, martyr, rogue or what not—had an eye for the beautiful!—the site of the “Temple” is a still further proof of it. [The opinions of “a dead man” with regard to the architectural *taste* displayed in this building, moreover, will be apt to surprise many a live one.]¹⁴

Descending the bluff, we drove to the Montrose ferry, chose a skiff instead of the *horse-boat*, (thought there were “no more left,”) and off we glided, our oars marring the musical ripples which played upon the surface of the stream. . . .

The latter part of the Davenport letter and most of the next one—which was dated “Upper Mississippi River,” July 29, 1845, appeared in the *Reveille* for August 11, and purported to describe a “Sunday among the ‘Saints’”—were given over to a prejudiced, heavily flippant comment on the Latter-day Saints or Mormons. The travelers stopped at the Nauvoo Mansion, formerly the home of Joseph Smith, the Mormon leader, and there they “had the satisfaction, hour after hour through the afternoon, of witnessing the steamy efforts made by our impatiently expected boat, the *Time*, to free herself from the rapids some miles below the town, where she had grounded, and which, in another spot, had put an end to the upward trip of our late boat, the *Mendota*.” At last, the “Dead Man” reported, “The *Time*, thanks to the indefatigable exertions of Captain Hooper . . . worked her way up the rapids; with what joy we got on board of her, and what an extraordinary scene presented itself when we did so! Of this anon; at present I lack *life* to describe it.” The “*Time*” had overtaken the “*Mendota*” and taken on its passengers. The boat was crowded, but the crowd was interesting to the “Dead Man.” The next letter is devoted to these people who, fortunately for him, were not all going to the Falls of St. Anthony.

¹⁴The statement in brackets was supplied by the editor of the *Reveille*. The leader of the Latter-day Saints in the founding of Nauvoo in 1839 was Joseph Smith.

UPPER MISSISSIPPI RIVER, July 29, 1845.¹⁵

DEAR DAY-BREAKERS:— Carpet bag in hand, my poor half-starved body (I had swallowed nothing since 1, P. M., . . .) struggled into the illuminated cabin of the *Time*, with certain famished others, about nine o'clock in the evening, and my first regalement was a mass of mattresses in one end, and a denser mass of proposed occupants in the other. The *Time* was absolutely alive with legs. . . . Captain Hooper (you will know him by an exceedingly well-fitting pair of black whiskers and pants,) had had an "awful time" in getting over the rapids, and a no less "awful time" awaited him in the disposition of his extra passengers, the Mendota having emptied herself into him; but, like a true "river man," he undertook to "put us through," and he did it. In the twinkling of a *mattress* a *sixth* table was spread; the miraculous "loaves and fishes" again made their appearance; the best *bar* on any western steam boat furnished *really* good cigars—and summer airs, quiet stars and the hurricane deck invited us until *bed* time. Even to "a dead man's" relief, the mosquitoes had disappeared, (we slept without a bar, the previous night, in Nauvoo,) and we took a few hours of "the balmy" on the floor, without knocking our noses off. At breakfast time we had an opportunity of ascertaining the quality as well as the number of our travelling companions, and my especial friend, the medical man having charge of my body, who is fastidious, somewhat, in his tastes and likings, relieved my mind of any possible apprehension by declaring that they "seemed to be of the right kind." Besides the usual number on their way east by the Galena and Chicago route, there was a "fishing crowd" for Davenport, a "way" crowd for everywhere, and a large "pleasure" crowd for the Falls of St. Anthony, made up of divers city worthies, and a couple of highly respectable families from New Orleans; among the latter, Mrs. Steele, the accomplished lady and artist, who, after a winter passed in copying the features of the *Orleanois*, thought it best to refresh her eye by sketching the (perhaps) more inspiring features of Nature, as displayed by the "Father of Waters" in the neighborhood of the Falls.¹⁶ Mrs. S. was in

¹⁵ *Reveille*, August 11, 1845.

¹⁶ Mrs. A. Steele, a native of western New York, was in St. Louis on her way to New Orleans in January, 1845, according to the *New Era* of St. Louis for January 4. The editor describes her as a highly accomplished and intelligent woman "with a genius for seizing and fixing

St. Louis for a short time last fall, it may be remembered, and I am happy to hear that it is her intention to return *there*, after a visit to Chicago. Bloomington, Burlington—the scores of towns and settlements that are rising, born of a day, as might be said, along these noble shores, (Iowa particularly)—what can be said of them, except that they are the *suggestions*, to every mind, of the glorious destiny which is to crown the west, and the sound of whose triumphal march already rings within all ears. The Iowa shore can hardly be viewed with indifference by even the coldest eye and most mechanical nature; for if his heart is not warmed by the contemplation of an earthly paradise, his *calculation* is at least stirred by the idea of growing cities and profitable investments. The Upper Mississippi is "beautiful, exceedingly"—not so grand, thus far, as I had been led to expect, but filling the soul with calm and the eye with kindness.

Davenport! This desired spot of the "fishing crowd" we reached on Monday evening, just as a flood of splendor, streaming from the west, the happy sun's "good night," bathed every object,—Rock Island and its fort, the residence of the lamented Col. Davenport,¹⁷ close by, Rock Island Town, on the Illinois shore, bluff, bottom, stream, and all—in beauty. This neighborhood is, indeed, all that it has been painted, but the deck of a steam boat is no place to contemplate its features from. The bluffs below the town afford the proper point of view, and the artist Wilde, formerly of St. Louis, has in a really fine drawing, given a lively idea of it.¹⁸ The Hotel at Davenport is a very large and well adapted brick building; it is already a place of great resort, and such changes are proposed in its management, &c., as must make it known through the whole Southwest. Everything conspires to make this place "a place" essentially; the hunting, fishing, cool airs, and lovely scenery; Rock Island alone, with its groves and forests—boating privileges are open to all—would tempt the sun-parched, street-stifled citizen from any distance.

We are approaching Galena, "headed" by the stiffest "norther" that I have ever experienced in July. The heat of summer, I am assured, is already passed in this latitude; and from my own feelings, the expression of permanent and prevailing character, without which, you have not the *likeness* of the subject, but merely the effigy of that likeness."

¹⁷ George Davenport was murdered on July 4, 1845. For a biographical sketch, see the *Dictionary of American Biography*, 5:82.

¹⁸ J. C. Wild published his *Valley of the Mississippi Illustrated* at St. Louis in 1841. Most of the accompanying text was by Lewis F. Thomas.

I can well believe it. The nerve of *November* impels my steps along the "hurricane deck," while the appetite of an ostrich makes the missing of a seat at the first table a positive affliction. "Talk of the devil, they say," there goes the tea bell; my provident medical friend is fighting with a gentleman from the "diggins" for my chair;—hold on, Doctor,—adieu friends.

"A DEAD MAN."

The sixth letter was written from Galena on July 30.¹⁹ The writer was happy to report that two-thirds of the passengers had debarked for Chicago. "This Galena is a strange looking town," he wrote; "it seems as if it had run 'up a creek' in a devil of a fright, and was now stopping to take breath only, it being yet too flurried to gather itself up in decent order." Although it was not until they were on the return trip that the passengers were allowed enough time to inspect the lead mines, the *Reveille* of August 18 ran the "Dead Man's" account of "A Drive through 'The Diggings'" as his seventh letter.

REVEILLEURS:—My last was from Galena, and the Falls of Saint Anthony have since hummed within my ear; yet, having found no means of forwarding my interesting "*pencillings*," I will, now, despatch "The Diggings"—as having been visited in upward order.

I mentioned the state of alarm in which Galena had, apparently, hid herself away from the world! I found her, on my return, precisely in the same flurry;—houses running eagerly up precipitous hills, and hiding their gable ends in declivitous hollows; chimneys peeping suspiciously from holes in the ground, and yawning cellars, into which neighboring garrets seemed anxious to cast themselves. It is the most eccentric looking place in the world, and, as for the inhabitants, they are equally headlong; *quick-silver* not *lead* should be their commodity; at any rate, they are quick enough in transforming the latter into the former.

Mr. [W.C.E.] Thomas, the well-known editor of the *Gazette* and *Advertiser*, was kind enough to act as our guide,²⁰ and off we rattled

¹⁹ *Reveille*, August 11, 1845.

²⁰ The *Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser* was founded by Charles E. Loring and S. M. Bartlett of St. Louis in 1834. It later

towards the mining ranges, extending from half a mile back of the town to any travelable distance. The country is peculiar—presenting a complete maze of rolling hills and inextricably lost ravines and hollows. Near the town, however, the slopes are cultivated to a considerable extent, while the comfortable farm-house and stately villa tell their happy story of enterprise and prosperity. There is scarcely any timber, for useful purposes, about Galena; the wood for the furnaces is brought from some distance, on the Mississippi. We rode along, over lightly shrubbed hills, until the slopes presented simply a surface of short grass; every thing assumed a more barren appearance, and now the eye was attracted by what seemed to be an incalculable number of new-made graves! Commencing near the bottom the mounds of fresh turned earth neighbor each other, even to the top of every hill;—these were “the diggings.” Anon, figures were seen at work, seldom more than two together, hoisting, by means of a crank and roller, large buckets of red earth from what seemed the mouths of unfinished wells, while others, soiled by clay and shouldering pick or shovel, took their way to and from all sorts of odd-looking little huts—log, plank, and even *turf*—which appeared to stow themselves away in the hollows.²¹

We had reached a somewhat noted spot, “Vinegar Hill,” about seven miles from town, and a break neck whirl to its base brought us to the steam worked draining pump of Mr. Briggs, who “casts the water of the *hills*” for some miles around, by means of his engine; reclaiming, thus, valuable ranges of nearly abandoned diggings, and taking a percentage (33 1/3) of their yield for his remuneration. Mr. B. politely accompanies us to a rich “lead” (lode) which had been recently “struck” in the neighborhood. We descended a perpendicular shaft, of some thirty feet, through a hard clay, to the bed of mineral, following which, horizontal passages or “drifts” are in all cases, opened. We found the ore to exist in large lumps,—even masses, and embedded in clay. Thus found, the mineral is called “float ore,” and it gives the invariable promise of rich returns when

passed into the hands of Horace H. Houghton, who sold it to Thomas in 1843. In 1845, however, Houghton once more became editor and he was the sole owner in 1847. *History of Jo Daviess County, Illinois*, 433 (Chicago, 1878).

²¹ For a general account of this region, consult Moses Meeker, “Early History of Lead Region in Wisconsin,” in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 6: 271-296.

the "crevice" or vein to which it is the lead is reached. Lighting our candles, the rays were reflected from a thousand shining points, above, around, beneath,—diamonds, as it were, peeping from their unworthy prison, and brightening at the prospect of release. [A few] blows of the pick would disengage large clay-colored lumps, which, again broken, strewed the floor with gems. Satisfied, as the discoverer has every reason to be, with this prospect of "a lead" we again crushed our hats and beclayed our coats rubbing against the side of the shaft, on our "haul up" to daylight. The ore, as found, is most rewardingly rich, generally yielding from 70 to 80 per cent.! It is absolutely *digging dollars*; and the infatuation—the restless, tireless searches of the less fortunate in their sanguine hopes—often realized—of striking upon instant fortune, is easily accounted for. Nearly all the successful miners commenced themselves, with pick and spade, "prospecting," (i.e.) turning up the surface of the hills for signs of mineral—persevering, often and often through years of toil and disappointment, and perhaps reaching wealth only with the threatened last stroke of their despairing spade. The histories of many wealthy men in Galena illustrate most vividly, the chance and change of fortune. Mining is said, after all, to be less a matter of experience than accident. "A fool for luck," is a favorite saying in "the diggings;" and the chance of a "*green Sucker*" (one from the southern part of the State) is, proverbially, a good one.

Returning to town by a road which embraces the most perilous succession of *ups* and *downs* ever travelled by Christian vehicle, curiosity was excited by the strange appearance of enormous chimneys, smoking like craters, seated on the very summits of divers of the hills, and looking as if the forges of the Cyclops must necessarily be situated within their shrouding bosoms. A few turns put an end to the mystery, by showing the connected buildings of the smelters; these furnaces require a very great draught, and the vast chimneys running up the slope of the hill, and finding a vent at the top secures [*sic*] this desideratum. The operation of smelting is very simple: the ore is broken, washed, and thrown upon a fire of wood and charcoal, which is rendered intense by the action of an enormous bellows, worked by horse or water power; the molten lead is caught in a large receiver, and from this the moulds are filled; the change from the ore to the "Pig" is instantaneous. From the furnaces we ascended an opposite hill, to visit a celebrated but now exhausted "lead". Nearly every

step was threatened by a pitfall; gophers, prairie dogs, and other western subteraneans, are noted for their "diggins," but here was an exhibition of their art on a scale as vast as curious. The amount of mineral obtained from this hill must have been incalculable! Enormous crevices are every where exposed, and the largest or "Buck lead," originally discovered by the Indians, and worked by a brother of Col. R. M. Johnson,²² admits one through its yawning jaws into a positive cavern. The "drifts" show blackly and dangerously along its dim recesses, and, without lights, the visitor will hardly penetrate them. A few minutes peep, however, will convey an idea of the vast treasures which they have contained, and fill the mind with wonder at that exhaustless mineral wealth which, through the whole west, already lines the hills as agriculture will garb the valleys.

Mining is a strange, wild business! What stories of struggle, enterprise, defeat and wrong are connected with it! The land is still held by Government, and the thousand conflicting leases and pretences, now fill the Courts with litigation, as formerly they did the "diggings" with blood. Notwithstanding this, strange to say, the popular voice is opposed to a change of the system; they fear monopoly and an increase of rents, should the land be brought into the market. Droll stories are told of the myriad schemes, tricks and traps practiced in this region growing out of the various discoveries of "leads." Every success entails a lawsuit, and it is not long since a certain order of characters made a capital living, (if they didn't get *killed*) by taking "a fighting interest" in cases which promised unusual profit and, consequently, a corresponding amount of quarrelling. I don't know what particular percentage the "fighting interest" amounted to, but it was doubtless "handsome" as it enabled the persons so engaging, while the miners worked like moles, to live "like gentlemen," "licking" every one who interfered with them.

"A DEAD MAN."

The eighth letter was a shipboard fantasy, the writing of which apparently filled in part of the time of the *Reveille* correspondent on July 31; it contributes nothing to the

²² The reference is to James Johnson, a son of Robert Johnson of Virginia and the elder brother of Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky. He purchased the right to work the Old Buck and Cave leads in 1822. Meeker, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 274 n., 281.

record of the trip or description of the riverside.²³ The last three letters, however, are among the best of the series and form an excellent climax to his report of the trip.

UPPER MISSISSIPPI RIVER, August 1st, 1845.²⁴

SOJOURNERS BELOW:—The sun loses his majesty, the moon and stars their splendor; the *Reveille*, at times, may be a "bore," and most distinctly, the Mississippi, "upper" or "lower," begins to flag in interest after a "week out;" consequently, the passage from Galena to Dubuque, and from Dubuque to *Prairie du Chien* excited but small interest. As a certain unmentionable poet, whose name is "writ in water," expressed it, on his first visit, years ago, to the Mississippi,—when nine and ten day trips were every way creditable,—

"Day after day, some huge impression under
'Till vastness fails to be a sight of wonder."

The sun of yesterday, however, as it grandly topped the superb hills which shelter the Garrison at Fort Crawford, dispelled the mists of *ennui*, revived our bechilled imaginations, and summoned to the "hurricane deck" as eager a throng as ever. We have a most agreeable party of ladies on board; Mrs. S[teele], the artist, with her rapid pencil, I have already mentioned, and then there are two most amiable families from New Orleans, including in their respective circles, that brightest source of all sweet fancy, a lovely girl.

However superb the Upper Mississippi, with its garnished slopes and tinting shadows may be, the traveller takes a renewed lease of beauty as he reaches the pavilioned bluffs of *Prairie du Chien*. These bluffs rising along the eastern "bottom" (whose rich carpet of green throws into such strong relief the whitened walls of the barracks,) I term "pavilioned," from the fact, that the smooth, velvet-like turf which clothes their rocky frames, being *indented* (*not broken*) from their pagoda crowns to their base level, the diverging shadows give their glossy surface an appearance of sweeping folds, and, the military character of the spot suggesting further, the visiter fancies he sees the war tents of that Titan race whose spirits dwell about the mounds, and whisper of Behemoth and the flood. From this point the river,

²³ This letter appears under the title "A Million a Minute," in the *Reveille*, August 18, 1845.

²⁴ *Reveille*, August 18, 1845.

stretching across from bluff to bluff, (from three to seven miles,) is fairly thronged with countless Islands, amid which, now enclosed in their mazes, now sweeping more freely on beneath some fortress-faced and craggy-browed old hill, the steamer winds impatiently her way. We now, too, were in the Indian country,—at least they still linger within it—and an occasional canoe with its tawny voyagers, a wigwam with its smoke, or a grave with its rude covering of sticks, served to keep the eye and imagination equally engaged. An Indian scout, who was employed by General Atkinson in the Black Hawk war, was, also, on board, during the whole day, and his peculiar anecdotes and comments, as we passed each spot of interest, lent zest and freshness to a "thrice told tale." We are, this morning, a dense November fog having cleared away,—after, however, making amends for its depressing chilliness, by sportively wreathing the sun-gilt crags and hill tops in every imaginable disposition of vapor—we are approaching Lake Pepin. . . .

This letter the writer closed with a brief essay on the energy and perseverance, the tact and good humor, so indispensable to steamboat captains; the latter qualities he illustrated with an anecdote about Captain Hooper. In the next installment he described Lake Pepin and the Sioux village a few miles north.²⁵

. . . Lake Pepin has its traditions—this broad expanse of water, spreading from bluff to bluff, unbroken by a single isle, and gathering in its depths the lesser floods, again to dispense them from its ample reservoir. A traveller from the Hudson, on entering this lake, would at once be struck with its resemblance to "Tappan Sea." It is of about the same breadth, but much longer, extending to something like twenty miles;—the coasts are similar, and civilization in course of time will make the likeness closer. About half way, on the Wisconsin side, the already bold coast rises into a range of some two hundred and fifty feet, the upper part of which, from forty to sixty feet, extends as a bare, weather eaten wall, supporting its roof of short grass and scrub oak; the lower part forms a graceful, shrub-covered slope to the water. From the highest and highest point, "The Maiden's Rock," the story is that an Indian girl once threw herself, rather than wed

²⁵ *Reveille*, August 18, 1845. This letter, which is undated, is number 10 in the series.

against her choice, and was *drowned!*²⁶ If this be so, it establishes the truth of an opinion entertained by many, that these waters were once much higher,—even at the base of this wall, and that they have broken through upon the lower country. *But*, if this be so, it is rather odd that the girl's fate should be remembered and the subsequent convulsion be unknown! and if there were no subsequent change, then did the dark skinned Sappho never drown herself! for a rifle shot from the cliff would hardly reach the water. Again, if she threw herself *at all* it was into the arms of cradling trees and bushes, which probably concealed her till night brought her lover and his canoe. This version is quite as romantic, and, upon viewing the spot, infinitely more probable, for a jump from it would, seemingly, hardly secure destruction.

Passing through the lake, the traveller is once more involved amid countless Islands; winding among which a few miles brings him to the lonely and picturesque Indian village of *Red Wing*, chief of a band of Sioux. Here, an unexpected discharge from our cannon made divers dark skinned paddlers spring from their canoes to the shore, while a crowd of red, white, brown, and dirty, blanketed figures, old and young, male and female, rushed down the hill towards the landing. The scene was extremely animated; above ranged the large bark built wigwams,—some twenty feet square with sloping roofs; the top and side of the hill was fringed and faced by Indians; while the strand was covered by eager passengers, better dressed but less civil than the savages. The general inquiry was for one Jack Fraser²⁷ or "Iron Face," a half breed,—son of a Scotchman,—renowned for being the possessor of an assorted stock of *thirty scalps*, taken by his own hand, from the heads of even that number of men, women, and children! To this collection, it is said, "Iron Face" is desirous of adding the scalp of his *own father*, if he can ever catch him, "for not having brought him up a *white man!*" Truly, from the peculiar talent evinced by him, he has been a great loss to society! He would have been "death" at a *toupee*, as the saying is! "Iron Face," however, was not at home; his peculiar tastes (whisky included) prevent him from walking a straight path, and he is now in apprehension of being

²⁶ For a discussion of various versions of the story of Maiden Rock, see G. Hubert Smith, "The Winona Legend," *ante*, 13: 367-376.

²⁷ A biography of Joseph J. Frazer, a famous half-breed warrior and guide, was written by Henry H. Sibley and published in sixteen weekly installments in the *St. Paul Pioneer*, beginning with the issue of December 2, 1866.

arrested by the whites for some misdemeanor. The attention of some of the lady passengers was attracted towards a mild-eyed, pleasant-featured creature, the daughter of Red Wing the chief; her manner was extremely modest, and her shy consent to stand to our lady artist for a sketch, was the most *naïve* thing imaginable. She afterwards conducted us to her wigwam to exhibit certain ornaments of her own handiwork. This band of Sioux consists of about three hundred; their village is a permanent residence. A *missionary*, with his family, resides among them;²⁸ they plant corn and potatoes, and among their fields rise the rude scaffoldings on which are deposited the bodies of the dead. A strange but not unpleasing custom, this! Instead of giving the faces, yet bright in memory, to gloom and to the earthworm, the sun and the free airs receive their elements. The waving flags and ornamented coffin have their moral as well as the cypress and the sod; and when the fleshly garb has disappeared—borne as an impalpable vapor upon the air, not absorbed in slime by the gross earth—when the frame invites no more disturbance,—then is it placed in earth, as in a casket.

An elderly and most agreeable lady, the wife of the resident missionary, joined us on board, on a visit to her friends at Fort Snelling, and from her we obtained many interesting particulars with regard to savage life. From her account, Indians are by no means as supposed free from the visiting horrors of conscience. The warrior shrinks at night from the forms of pleading children and their mothers—his own upbraided spirit joining them. As to "Iron Face," who is a celebrated *brave*, but whose deeds have been, to the full Indian degree, characterized by treachery and cruelty, *he never sleeps without a light!* His first purchase from the missionary was a box of candles, and he continues the expenditure. With regard to the daughter of the chief, mentioned heretofore, the lady told us that, as a child, she was full of promise—gentle, intelligent and affectionate. She learned to use the needle with great skill, and began to take great interest in religion. Growing in beauty, she was the admiration of white and red, but the more willing ear which youthful vanity lent to the first, ruined her.

²⁸ Two Swiss missionaries, Daniel Gavin and Samuel Dentan, served at Red Wing's village, on the present site of the city of Red Wing, for some years before 1845, when Gavin retired because of the ill health of his wife. William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 1:203 (St. Paul, 1921).

She changed as a flower in a poisoned atmosphere; she passed through other hands, and withered under their pernicious tending; yet still, her fragrance gone, she was one to call forth sympathy. A simple savage, she was innocent and even the barbarism of civilization had not quite destroyed the beauty it had trampled on.

It is usual for white men who have lived among and dealt with Indians, to cry out against them as lying, treacherous, thieving, &c.; yet, how is it that a commerce with white men invariably *makes them worse?* . . . The Indians, from *Prairie du Chien* up, are forbidden, by treaty, to cross to the east side of the river; yet every trader who sets up a hut and a whisky barrel, surrounds himself with a swarm, strips them alike of their money and their senses; when outrage, perhaps, calling for the presence of a company, the very steamer which takes them up brings also a fresh store of whisky to the trader; the Indians are driven off and punished, while the seducer remains to tap his barrels and summon his customers again, the moment the soldiers have turned their backs!

It strikes me that I have written a very long letter, but I feel alive to this subject though I do sign myself

"A DEAD MAN."

ST. PETERS, August 2d, 1845²⁹

Mene-ha-ha, or The Water that Laughs:—so are the Falls of St. Anthony called by the children of the wild.³⁰ Who shall say that the red-skins have not a chiming fancy? A thousand silver bells mingle with their gutteral tones—a thousand gentle and poetic fancies sport amid the smoke of their wigwams. The *Laughing Waters!* Truly, one should dream awhile beneath the "singing trees" of the Arabian Nights, and, waking, swallow a draft from the fountain of youth; he should have taken a shower bath with Undine, and listened to the enchanted horn of Sir Huon, ere trusting himself to discourse of these merry gushings—these leaping, laughing foam-voices of the north! Lacking all these means of inspiration, I must be content to rouse my brain and accelerate my blood with a draught of the invigor-

²⁹ *Reveille*, August 25, 1845. In the newspaper, the date appears at the end of the letter.

³⁰ This is an error. The Falls of St. Anthony are in the Mississippi River at Minneapolis. Minnehaha Falls, which were known earlier as the Little Falls or as Brown's Falls, are in a branch of the Mississippi known as Minnehaha Creek. Folwell, *Minnesota*, 1: 139, 232.

ating air of 45° N. and with the thought that I at this moment occupy the paradisaical position of a *resurrected one!* — I am no longer "A Dead Man!"

Fort Snelling, at the head of navigation, a few miles below the Falls, rears its grey walls and circular "keep" along the brows of a high bluff — or rather the advanced point of that elevated table land which separates the Mississippi and St. Peters rivers, here uniting. Every body of course knows how a fort is built, and the gentlemen of the station had undoubtedly arrived at that conclusion, which may, perhaps, account for their evident desire not to *bore* us with their company. For an hour or so we were allowed the unrestricted freedom of the grounds; the ladies, particularly, stimulated by a slight thirst after climbing the hill, being archly left to exercise their ingenuity and *instinct by finding out the pump!* At length the really polite sutler of the garrison, provided us with the means of conveyance, and we set out for a ride of seven miles, over the prairie to the Falls.

What an unceasing charm exists in the harmony of falling water; — from the awful bass of Niagara, to the trills and cadences of its supplying springs; from the stilly sweep of the Mississippi, round its lower bends, to the laughing chorus of its rapids, the deeper burthen of its plunging flood. Its yet *unheard* music lent a tone to our lumbering wheels, as we crossed the prairie swells; our thronged wagon became a triumphal car, each flower sent forth a voice, and, for once, the *whir* of the grouse had another melody than that of the gridiron.

Hark! a low, deep symphony now rises on the ear, and a turn from the path presents to view "Little [*Minnehaha*] Falls," the snowy plunge into a picturesque dell of a small bright stream, the drain of a neighboring lake [*Minnetonka*]. This is about one-third of the distance to the Grand Falls, and after a sufficient gaze, and a draught from the crystal spring, on we went again. It is a fortunate thing that all persons are not of such a mathematical — geometrical turn of genius, that it is impossible to surprise them! There are a sort of people who "never go any where," knowing, already, "exactly what it is!" They have the measurements, understand the topography, and, sitting in their parlors, they will tell you more about the matter than the visitor could possibly do. Thanks to a deficiency of calculation which will always keep some people poor, and a sufficiency of ideality which will always keep them rich — anticipation never mars their enjoyment — there is still to them, in all cases, something left,

partaking of the *unexpected!* " "Tis in ourselves that we are *thus* or *thus*," and, for my own part, I wouldn't exchange my " *thus* " for that of the more knowing,—but yonder spread " the Laughing Waters!"

The Falls of St. Anthony are neither as " *slublime* " as Niagara, as " *picturesque* " as " *Glen's*," as " *peculiar* " as Montmorenci, nor as " *pretty* " as the Passaic; but scrambling down the banks, and jumping from fragment to fragment of their former bed, till amid tinted sprays the roaring mirth of the whole watery scene bursts closely on him, the visitor must take it cool[1]y indeed, if he misses the boasted features of either of those mentioned. These present have no height, but a world of variety. Their breadth, some third of a mile, is broken by huge blocks, wrecks of a former bed; a rough strange island and intervening deposites [sic] of timber; while surging around all, leaps the loud shouting waters! Indigo-blue, bright green and frosted silver, tumbling and changing, circling, rushing, flashing,—and the grand thought still ringing over all, " Two thousand miles away sounds the far sea!" It is very difficult to talk of the Mississippi valley without alluding to the cities of Egypt, and the arts of Greece; they are standard objects of comparison; but it is a vice of style which time will cure, our age and our *scope* walk hand in hand with equally incomparable grandeur. A dip in the whirling eddies; a song to the brown old rocks; anon, a silent long breathed reverie, and,—all of a sudden, an enquiry is suggested as to *what is in the basket?* Oh happy basket! Capacious, covered, comfortable basket! thrice treasured for thy short hour of neglect! Ham, sirloin, tongue, fresh roll, and, by all means, a choice black bottle, to say nothing of the sugared varieties of confectionary.

There is nothing, it strikes me, which so clearly marks the humor dispelling potency of country air, as the endurance by queasy stomachs, while under its appetising influence, of women eating! Byron was not alone in his nervous horror of munching jaws; and, as a general thing, the fair ones are aware of it, for it is a main article of etiquette with the many to make a *pretty mouth* while masticating,—if any thing, a greater abomination than the other! I must pursue this matter no further, though, or I may be suspected of a relapse of stomach.

Again on board! adieu to the " Laughing Waters," Farewell to *Fort Snelling's pump!*

No longer "A DEAD MAN."

What became of the resurrected newspaperman the writer does not know, but the slow, easy trip with its long periods of rest, its quiet pleasures, its healthful air, and its stimulating changes of scene was just the prescription he needed.³¹ If he was Joseph L. Chester, he lived nearly forty years longer. The upper Mississippi was justifying itself as a health resort.

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³¹ The "Time" probably reached St. Louis on August 11. The *Reveille* of August 18 reported further troubles that confronted it on the trip downstream. The author of the letters may have left the boat with other passengers at Galena, for his trip through the diggings was made on the way down, or he may have returned to St. Louis. The newspapers there have no further news of him. In August, 1846, the "Time," then running in the St. Louis-Galena trade, sank near Pontoussuc, Iowa. Merrick, *Old Times*, 190.

THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN 1940

A REVIEW of the activities of the Minnesota Historical Society during the past year has a particular significance. We live in a world torn by conflict between two concepts of political, social, and economic life—the totalitarian idea of rigid controls and repression of mankind for the sake of the state, and the democratic theory that government, society, and economic systems were made for mankind, and not mankind for them. As a nation, we support the latter theory, and we look to the records of the past to justify our stand.

In history are to be found the answers to many of the problems that now confront us, and our success in solving them is a measure of the extent to which the Minnesota Historical Society and similar institutions have fulfilled their mission of preserving the records of America's past. If our task has been well done, the records will be available to prove that in democratic government and institutions lies the strength of the nation. If we have failed in the past, our democracy is in peril, for we cannot learn the truth. The work of historical societies, therefore, is extremely important to America today.

In a review of the society's work in 1940, what it has done to reach out to the people of the state is of prime importance. Probably the most intimate personal contact this institution has with the people of Minnesota is through its membership. In the past year, 100 new individual members and 7 new institutional members were enrolled, but this gain was partially offset by the death of 38 members and the cancellation of 47 memberships because of nonpayment of dues. At the end of 1940, the society had on its rolls 1,323 active members. It had also 53 institutional members and

205 subscribing schools and libraries, making a total membership of 1,581.

It is largely through its publications that the society maintains contact with its members. Beginning with the issue for March, 1940, *Minnesota History* adopted a new and simplified cover design. The four numbers of the magazine which make up volume 21 form a book of 458 pages, exclusive of the index. It contains thirteen major articles, five shorter contributions published under the heading "Notes and Documents," and thirty-two reviews of books of Minnesota and Northwest interest. Altogether, fifty contributions were prepared by thirty-five different authors. Notable among them are some valuable documentary source materials. "The Narrative of Samuel W. Pond," edited by Dr. Theodore C. Blegen and published in three installments under the title "Two Missionaries in the Sioux Country," is delightful and instructive reading. Important new light on life at Grand Portage in the first decade of the nineteenth century is furnished by a series of documents translated and edited by Dr. Nute. An article of particular interest is James Gray's "A Literary Critic Looks at History," a stimulating review of American literature since the first World War. There are other articles of equal value and interest dealing with such varied aspects of Minnesota history as transportation, art, labor, place names, north woods folklore, and the medical books of a leading Minnesota physician and surgeon.

Other publications of the year include the *Quarterly Check List of Minnesota Public Documents*, prepared by Miss Jerabek and Miss Krausnick, and the monthly *Minnesota Historical News*. It is regrettable that, because of a lack of funds, no special volumes appeared last year, although several are ready for publication. They include a group of missionary records relating to Minnesota and the Red River Valley, edited by Miss Nute; a selection of the writings of James M. Goodhue, the editor of Minnesota's

first newspaper, collected and prepared for publication by Mrs. Berthel; and sundry special bulletins, notably guides to the society's records of organizations and to other manuscript depositories in Minnesota.

These are but a few of the special publications which should be issued by the society in fulfillment of its obligations to the members of the society in particular, and to the citizens of Minnesota in general. For more than a dozen years my predecessors have called attention to the crying need for a publication fund. I repeat that the Minnesota Historical Society must create a publication fund if it is to present to the people of this state intelligently planned and scholarly accounts of Minnesota's past. We cannot afford to fail in performing this duty.

Each year the society conducts a series of open meetings as a means of arousing in the people of the state a consciousness of their part in its history. The annual meeting, held on January 8, consisted of three major sessions—a local history conference held in the society's auditorium in the morning, a luncheon program at the St. Paul Athletic Club, and an evening meeting in the Historical Building. Although all sessions were well attended, the luncheon meeting in particular drew an unusually large audience. On August 9 and 10 the society held its eighteenth annual summer convention, joining the communities of the Mesabi Range in celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of iron ore at Mountain Iron. Sessions were held at Garrison on Mille Lacs Lake, at Hibbing, and at Mountain Iron. On October 14 about seventy-five people assembled for an open meeting following the regular fall meeting of the executive council.

One evidence of the Minnesota Historical Society's service to the people of Minnesota is to be found in attendance figures. During 1940, a total of almost 38,000 visitors to the museum was recorded. Since this count is based only upon the number of people who made use of the elevator

service, it is safe to say that the actual number of visitors was much larger—probably approaching 60,000. An unusually large number of school classes visited the society during the year—more than 400, comprising almost 12,000 students. During legislative years the total of such attendance is usually high, but never before in a nonlegislative year has there been such substantial evidence of the educational value of the Minnesota Historical Society to the public schools of the state. In the library 6,858 readers made use of more than 30,000 volumes. The number of readers represents an increase of almost 1,000 over the totals for 1939, although the number of books used was somewhat smaller than the figure for the previous year. The newspaper department served the needs of 3,201 readers who consulted 7,701 bound volumes of newspapers and 59,515 current issues. In the manuscript division the number of readers reached the highest figure ever reported in any one year—2,185. This is almost double the number reported in 1939, an increase that is explained partly by the extraordinary demands for proof of age from old-age assistance applicants, from government and industrial employees, and from the federal government for draft registration purposes.

But figures are inadequate to indicate the full extent of service to the public by the society. Through special exhibits in the Historical Building and in stores and offices throughout the state a message of history has been carried to uncounted thousands of Minnesotans. The "Information Bureau" has answered hundreds of requests by letter and by telephone. Finally, through public addresses, the society has reached still other thousands, for six staff members responded to sixty-three requests for such talks during the year.

The society has diligently pursued its task of building up its collections. In 1940 the library added 2,790 books, pamphlets, and bound volumes of newspapers, bringing the

total count to 203,779 volumes. The newspaper collection now comprises 20,371 bound volumes, exclusive of duplicates. Currently the society receives 1,068 periodicals, 506 of which are published in the state, and 597 newspapers, 527 of which are Minnesota publications. About two-thirds of the additions to the library were received as gifts.

Among the many interesting and valuable additions to the newspaper collections are a partial file of the *Lake City Sentinel*, covering the years from August, 1885, to August, 1887; the *North St. Paul Sentinel* for the twenty years following August, 1887; the *Rushford Star* from August 9, 1877, to August 13, 1885; the *Pepin [Wisconsin] Star* from September 4, 1884, to August 27, 1885; and the first issue of the *Crosby Courier*, dated March 9, 1911. Newly acquired library items of interest include a photographic copy of "Un document inédit sur LaHontan" by Froidevaux, an article originally published in the *Journal de la société des americanistes de Paris* for 1902-03; a speech delivered in the national House of Representatives on January 5, 1869, by William Windom, entitled "Northern Pacific Railroad"; and various publications relating to the Farmers' Alliance and the Populist movement of the 1880's and 1890's. The Minnesota Daughters of the American Revolution have again shown their interest in the society by presenting copies of valuable genealogical indexes, several volumes of typewritten genealogical records, and a gift of money to be added to a book fund previously established. Individual chapters of the same organization, through memorial funds, have contributed valuable items of Americana which otherwise could not have been made available in the society's library. The Colonial Dames of America have been equally generous, with gifts of such publications as Rines's *Old Historic Churches of America* and Terry's *Old Inns of Connecticut*. Through the forethought of other friends of the society, its collections of campaign materials were augmented and many other items of an ephem-

eral nature were acquired which otherwise would probably have been lost.

There also have been many notable additions to the manuscript collections. Among the 181 gifts of the year were diaries and personal papers, records of business houses and organizations, and numerous additions to individual collections. In many respects the most important collection placed in the safekeeping of the society last year is that of Engebret H. Hobe, for forty years Norwegian consul in St. Paul. These papers cover not only the entire range of Hobe's distinguished career as a citizen of Minnesota, but also the activities of a multitude of Norwegian immigrants who struggled to establish themselves in the Northwest. The papers and scrapbooks of Axel Lindegard reveal the life of a Swedish immigrant in the Red River Valley; and the scrapbook of J. P. McGaughey, a leader in the Knights of Labor, yields important information about the labor movement in Minnesota in the eighties. Some letters from the papers of Algernon S. Washburn tell of the activities of his family, which was prominent in the history of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Illinois. Items relating to Thomas S. Williamson and James Gilfillan contain information about missionary activity on the Minnesota frontier, and the papers of Jeremiah Russell tell of an Indian trader in the same wilderness area. Records of the Chute, Lynn Haines, and N. P. Langford families are of a later generation, but are no less important in unfolding the story of the growth of a democratic state; and those of James Gray preserve the record of a prominent Minneapolis newspaperman and an important political figure a generation ago.

Among the important records of business firms recently acquired are the Omejer Papers. They reveal the growth of a business in the Red River Valley during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century. The story of their acquisition illustrates the way in which the Minnesota Historical Society reaches out into the world. In Norway, Captain

Thor Omejer, a member of the society, learned of its efforts to collect business papers. In the attic of his home reposed papers relating to his father's business ventures in Minnesota, and he at once sent them to the society. They arrived just before the German occupation of Norway. Another valuable collection of business records is that of Thorne, Norrish and Company, a firm which operated at Hastings from 1860 to 1892.

Mention of but a few of the valuable diaries received by the society will serve to illustrate their variety and usefulness. Of great charm is the series kept by Charles F. Johnson, the proprietor of a book store and a prominent civic official of Duluth in the later decades of the nineteenth century. The diaries, covering the period from 1870 to 1896, are beautifully illustrated with pen-and-ink sketches and reveal many aspects of life in the "Zenith City." The diary of Irvin Rollins, copied on microfilm by the society from originals in the possession of his family, reveals aspects of rural life in southern Minnesota during the twenty years after 1855. It is an important addition to the society's collection of farmers' diaries.

The society has made considerable progress in its program of collecting records of institutions. Of importance in this category are records of the First Methodist Church of St. Paul and the Linden Hills Congregational Church of Minneapolis. The story of the Minnesota School of Missions may be traced in part through records of that institution, and additional information about such organizations as the Minnehaha Grange and the Upper Mississippi Improvement Association may be found in papers of those institutions recently added to collections previously established.

The museum collections also have been marked by an impressive growth. A total of 675 gifts, classified as historical, ethnological, archaeological, and numismatic, were received. There also were added 1,193 pictures, which

bring the society's picture collection to a total of 66,595. More than 27,000 of these are portraits. Of particular interest among the pictures recently received are attractive oil paintings of Colonel and Mrs. Josiah Snelling. It is planned to exhibit these portraits in the Round Tower Museum at Fort Snelling as soon as it is opened to the public. Many handsome costumes, interesting household articles, and tools and implements of everyday life were added to the materials on display in the society's museum during the past year.

Of importance for an understanding of Indian life in the Minnesota region is the valuable collection of Chippewa medicine society materials acquired recently. Included are medicine bags of otter, mink, and weasel skins, charms, beaded ceremonial bibs, and many other items significant in the ritual of the grand medicine society. As a result of its acquisition, one of the most important of the known collections of such materials can now be seen and studied in the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society.

In every department of the society an unflagging effort has been made to further its work, both routine and non-routine. The pressure of public demands upon the staff, however, plus the fact that it has not been enlarged as its work has increased, have created many difficulties. An institution of this kind does not present a picture comparable to a public library or a business office, which can put limits on its growth. The task of collecting and preserving historical records has no limit, and the work of the society is constantly increasing in volume. Accumulated records cannot be discarded as noncurrent. Each year's achievements represent just so much additional work in care and custody.

It is reasonable to suppose that with the increase of the society's treasures, there should, therefore, be a corresponding increase in the personnel to care for them. During the past twenty years the society's collections have doubled in

bulk and its work has increased in like proportion, but the professional staff is only about eight per cent larger than it was in 1920. With each passing year, therefore, the volume of unfinished work increases, and staff members dismally look forward to a time when it will overwhelm them.

An inkling of what has been accomplished is afforded by statistics showing the growth of the collections. The library catalogued 2,505 items and added 16,763 cards to the various catalogue files. In addition, the Minnesota biographical index was enlarged by 996 new cards, and 2,741 printed cards were added to the "American Genealogical Index" in the reference department. In the newspaper department great progress was made in the task of incorporating gift collections into the regular files, and in repairing and rebinding worn newspaper files. The manuscript division added 2,243 catalogue and shelf-list cards to its guides to the collections, and the museum analyzed 1,743 pictures and prepared several thousand index cards for the subject index to the picture collection. It is estimated that the accumulated index now totals nearly seventy thousand subject cards.

The Historical Records Survey, under the direction of Mr. Jacob Hodnefield, has a substantial record of achievement for the year. Its basic work has been completed and the task of publishing in mimeographed form the results of the surveys of county archives throughout the state has been carried on at an accelerated rate. Twenty-six surveys of county archives have now been published, and the volumes make an impressive array on any library shelf. In addition, the project has issued other important publications. Among these should be mentioned a volume on the history of the Cuyuna Range, and the useful and valuable *Guide to Historic Markers* erected by the state highway department and the Minnesota Historical Society. The demand for the latter volume, in particular, has been heavy.

The society's own WPA project has performed tasks of great value during the year. Workers engaged in this project have cleaned and mended rare and valuable books, newspapers, maps, and manuscripts. They have transcribed documentary fragments which were worn by age or much use. They have inventoried and listed gift collections, calendared manuscripts, and performed a host of tasks for which the staff has not found time. The society counts the achievements of the workers on its WPA project, wholly nonroutine, as among the important accomplishments of the year.

In spite of the burden of work which has faced staff members, they have made substantial progress in individual professional activities. Dr. Nute lectured on Minnesota history throughout the school year of 1939-40 in the University of Minnesota, and since the autumn of 1940 she has served as professor of history in Hamline University. She has completed a biography of the two French explorers, Radisson and Groseilliers, has made considerable progress on a biography of Congressman Charles A. Lindbergh, and has prepared for publication in booklet form a historical study of the Basswood Lake area on the northern boundary of Minnesota. For *Minnesota History* she edited and translated a valuable series of documents, and wrote a short article about the Lindbergh bust installed in the society's building last summer. She also contributed many book reviews to this and other publications, and she delivered a number of talks and addresses before Minnesota audiences. She has served as chairman of the Alvord memorial commission of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the annual meeting of which she attended in May, and in December she represented the society at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in New York. Mr. Babcock, besides directing the society's general WPA project, prepared for the United States Indian Service a his-

torical account of Grand Portage. He is the author of an article on the same subject which was published in *Museum News*, and he delivered a number of talks and addresses. Mrs. Berthel has devoted much of her time during the year to directing the compilation of a new and important gazetteer of Minnesota geographic names. She has nearly completed her work on the editorials of James M. Goodhue, and she is the author of an article dealing with Minnesota place names which was published in the society's magazine. Miss Heilbron prepared three articles and a book review for *Minnesota History*, and she has continued her work on Minnesota artists. During the year she made several visits to county historical museums, accounts of which were published in the society's quarterly. Mrs. Warming prepared Minnesota articles for several encyclopedias, and supplied corrections and additions to the *Union List of Serials*. Miss McCann gave a number of talks, and prepared an article, as well as many shorter notices, for publication. Dr. Beeson, who recently began his work as head of the newspaper department, has also undertaken the preparation of the articles for the *Minnesota Historical News*, and he has contributed a number of book reviews to *Minnesota History*.

A number of changes occurred in the personnel of the staff during 1940. On July 1 Miss Catherine Bauman was appointed to the position in the manuscript division formerly held by Miss Ruth Fritz, who resigned. At the end of the year Miss Helen McCann resigned her position as manuscript assistant. On February 1 Dr. Lewis Beeson was appointed acting head of the newspaper department, and on August 1 Mrs. Blanche K. Severe was provisionally appointed to the position of accessions assistant left vacant by the resignation of Mrs. Mary F. Knopp.

The deaths during the year of two members of the executive council—Mrs. Edward B. Young and Nathaniel P. Langford—both able and valued members of the society's

governing body, are recorded with regret. The two vacancies on the council were filled by the election of Miss Laura Furness of St. Paul and of the superintendent.

In planning the needs of the society for the next biennium, the executive committee submitted to the state department of administration for consideration by the legislature a budget requesting \$53,420 for each year of the biennium. This figure provides for \$35,920 for salaries and \$17,500 for supplies and expenses. The estimate is based upon a careful study of the actual basic needs of the society. It includes a request for funds to cover the salary of an archives assistant, since it is apparent that some provision must be made for adequate help in administering non-current state records in the custody of the society. During the past year well over a thousand readers have consulted these records, many of which are fragile. Surely it is appropriate that the state provide for their care. The budget also calls for salary adjustments in keeping with the recently announced civil service schedules of salaries, and it provides a small sum for services not included in the regular payroll. So far as the items for supplies and expenses are concerned, the budget request provides only for the normal minimum needs of the society.

ARTHUR J. LARSEN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

THE 1941 ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A LOCAL HISTORY conference designed to meet the needs of local historical workers in Minnesota, a luncheon program which commemorated the centennial of the founding of St. Paul, and an evening session at which the annual address was presented were the features of the ninety-second annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, held in St. Paul on January 20. For the opening session—the twenty-first in a series of local history conferences—more than sixty people, including representatives of fifteen local historical societies, assembled in the auditorium of the Historical Building at 10:00 A.M. Presiding was the president of the Nicollet County Historical Society, Mr. Henry N. Benson of St. Peter, who began the meeting by calling upon the Reverend Benno Watrin of Ponsford for an invocation. This was given in the musical language of the Chippewa, among whom Father Watrin is stationed.

The first speaker on the conference program, Mr. Wiloughby M. Babcock, curator of the state historical society's museum, took as his subject "The Role of the Museum in Historical Society Work." He expressed his conviction that the museum should be "but one of the co-ordinate parts of a historical society, with a function as definite as that of the library." He noted that in the case of the Minnesota Historical Society the collecting and preserving of the materials for the study of state history are divided among the library, the manuscript division, and the museum, and the student engaged in research is advised to use the resources of all. That certain "collecting limits" should be defined by every society, was emphasized by the speaker; inappropriate and irrevelant objects should be declined.

"The desire to establish a museum which will depict the past of a community is the first manifestation of the historical consciousness of a locality," said Mr. Babcock. After it begins to collect objects and pictures, such a museum inevitably attracts also "diaries, letters, books, newspapers, maps, and other types of historical material demanded by the true historian for his study of community life and culture." Each local historical museum is a "focal point for the collection of material that might otherwise be lost," and as such it should be given every encouragement.

What the local historical society can do to foster and sponsor the observance of community anniversaries was the subject discussed by the second speaker, Mr. Dana W. Frear, vice-president of the Hennepin County Historical Society. He noted that sixty-six of Minnesota's eighty-seven counties have passed their seventy-fifth anniversaries, and that only one county, Lake of the Woods, can still look forward to its twenty-fifth birthday. Communities that stage anniversary celebrations gain in historical consciousness, and they usually ferret out much historical material that might otherwise be lost. Such material often is discovered in the memory of a pioneer, or in manuscript and other records that are deteriorating through neglect. The speaker asserted that a knowledge of the past of a county would be useful not only to its average citizens, but to its officials, for if they are familiar with the mistakes of the past, they will be less likely to repeat them. The anniversary celebration, with its attendant gathering of the materials from which the story of the county can be written, is one method through which the county historical society can stimulate interest in history. Those who participate in such a celebration will become aware of other activities of the local historical society and will have opened up for them a new and stimulating field of interest.

The next speaker, Mr. Stanley W. Jacobson, chief of the

research and records section of the Minnesota WPA, explained the relationship of "The Local Historical Society and Federal Projects." He told of various local historical projects that are being conducted under WPA auspices—the inventory of county archives, a survey of historic sites, the listing of historic markers, and numerous special studies under preparation by workers engaged in the state-wide writers' project. He announced that many local historical museums have been provided with workers through the WPA.

The formal conference program was brought to a close with a discussion of "The Local Historical Society and Local Archives" by Dr. Grace Lee Nute, curator of manuscripts for the state historical society. That the local historical society is better equipped than any other agency for the preservation of the business papers of the county and the township is the contention of Dr. Nute, for, she asserts, "it is important not only to save local archives, but to save them near at hand." First of all, local historical workers should learn where the local archives are, and then they should arouse public sentiment to an appreciation of the need for preserving these papers. For the latter purpose, fireproof buildings or vaults are needed. How and by whom will the records be used? In considering these questions, Dr. Nute called attention to the need for proof of age, citizenship, and residence that so many people are encountering today. "If local communities preserve their records and organize and index them," she said, "it will be the simplest thing imaginable to prove one's age and citizenship." She told also how local records have been used by writers of fiction and biography. "How do you know," Dr. Nute asked, "that in 1990 someone will not be hunting for material in your local archives about a boy or girl who now is quite inconspicuous?" For the job of preserving those archives, she repeated in closing, no organization is

so well fitted as the local historical society, and she expressed the hope that the Minnesota societies "will not let their generation down."

Among those who participated in the discussion of the papers presented before the conference were the Honorable Victor E. Lawson of Kandiyohi County, Mr. S. S. Beach of McLeod County, Mr. Jacob Hodnefield of the Minnesota Historical Records Survey, and the Honorable Alfred H. Nelson, a member of the legislature from Meeker County. Before the close of the session, Dr. Arthur J. Larsen, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, stressed the need for a formal organization of local historical society leaders to co-operate in standardizing the work of such groups. His motion, seconded by Mr. Frear, that a committee of five be named to make plans for such an organization resulted in the selection of a committee consisting of Mr. Ira C. Oehler, president of the state society, Mr. Benson, Mr. Lawson, Mr. Beach, and Mrs. B. T. Willson of the Olmsted County society.

The building of a little log chapel on the present site of St. Paul in 1841 is looked upon as the event that marked the founding of the city, and the luncheon program was arranged to commemorate its centennial. Co-operating with the historical society in planning the noon meeting was the St. Paul Association of Commerce. Nearly five hundred people were present when the session convened at the St. Paul Athletic Club at 12:15 P.M. Mr. Walter F. Seeger, president of the association, opened with some remarks about that organization, which has played a leading part in the civic life of St. Paul for seventy-four years. He then introduced Dr. Guy Stanton Ford, president of the University of Minnesota and a member of the historical society's executive council, who presided. Dr. Ford paid a tribute to the pioneers who not only established the government of Minnesota, but founded many of its institutions. He

brought out the fact that the same men who laid the foundations of the commonwealth were responsible for such pioneer institutions as the university and the historical society. Among Minnesota's pioneers were priests of the Catholic church. Their exploits, said Dr. Ford, would be described by the Most Reverend John Gregory Murray, archbishop of St. Paul, in an address on "St. Paul—A Church and a City."

The philosophy that inspired the founders of Minnesota's capital city a century ago was Archbishop Murray's theme. The military men who were sent by the federal government to the new post on the upper Mississippi had a civilizing influence on this northern area, said the speaker. Their work of establishing a cultural heritage for a new community was continued and extended by hardy pioneer clergymen who went north to minister to a civilian population clustering about Fort Snelling. He told of the visit in July, 1839, of Bishop Mathias Loras of Dubuque, and of the 185 Catholics he found living in the vicinity of the military reservation. In a very real sense that visit was a prelude to the founding of St. Paul, for upon his return to Dubuque the bishop sent a priest, Father Lucian Galtier, to the upper Mississippi. He went to serve a group that included many French and Swiss from the Canadian Red River settlements—men and women who had been driven south by flood, famine, and disappointment. About the time of Father Galtier's arrival, they were forcibly ejected from their homes on the Fort Snelling reservation, where they had been living as squatters. Some of these people established new homes on the east bank of the Mississippi, and for their use Father Galtier erected a little log chapel. He called it St. Paul, a name that in time was applied to the entire settlement. Archbishop Murray also touched upon some of the Catholic personalities who followed Father Galtier—men like Father Ravoux and Bishop Cretin—

and he noted that the little church so humbly begun at St. Paul eventually outstripped in importance its father parish at Dubuque.

To tell what manner of city St. Paul grew up to be was the task before the second speaker, Dr. Ford remarked in introducing Mrs. Grace Flandrau of St. Paul. She took as her subject "St. Paul: The Personality of a City," explaining that the community's early residents had marked it with certain characteristics that are still evident in its makeup. In her opening remarks, the speaker branded as false the philosophy of those who say we should never look back, for, she asserted, we are products of our past. How St. Paul's past was shaped by "refugees from Eutopia" on the Red River, by the "aristocratic tradition" of the fur trade, by health seekers from the East, by schoolteachers from New England, and by many other elements that have helped to mold the present was explained by Mrs. Flandrau. Her stimulating and entertaining address appears in full elsewhere in this issue of *Minnesota History*.

Following a meeting of the society's executive council and a business meeting in the office of the superintendent, an audience of more than a hundred and fifty people crowded into the auditorium of the Historical Building to hear the annual address at 8:30 p.m. It was presented by Dr. Philip D. Jordan, associate professor of history in Miami University, who dealt with an unusual phase of frontier life in a paper on "The Hutchinson Family and Musical Entertainment a Century Ago." In introducing him, Mr. Oehler, who presided, announced that the speaker would be assisted by five members of the Hamline University Choir, Russell Hammar, Shirley Hammergren, Ruth Dearstyne, Mary Locker, and Rodney Weibel, and their accompanist, Rachael Quant.

Dr. Jordan recalled that at least three of the Hutchinson brothers, John, Judson, and Asa, are significant figures in

the early history of Minnesota, for in 1855 they founded the McLeod County town that bears their name. There "liquor was forbidden, as were bowling alleys, billiard tables, or gambling devices of any type," and women enjoyed "equal rights with men . . . in all matters not restricted by law." But if in Minnesota the Hutchinsons were known chiefly as "another factor exerting itself in the great migration of the 1850's," in other parts of America and even abroad they were famous as the "most prominent troupe of family singers" of the mid-century, a period that produced "at least thirty itinerant bands." These troubadours were "ideal interpreters of American life," asserted Dr. Jordan, for "they sang about America for Americans." In their programs, they "emphasized the melodramatic, the comic and the sentimental," and they lifted "their melodious voices in the causes of temperance, abolition, and woman suffrage." The lyrics for many of their songs were original, and they wrote much of their own music.

Dr. Jordan then went on to describe a program typical of those made popular by the Hutchinsons. As he completed his account of each feature of this old-time musical program, he called upon the Hamline University singers to present a song of the type described. This they did in spirited fashion, reproducing for the audience much of the flavor and atmosphere of the entertainments that were the subject of Dr. Jordan's address. The program as a whole not only characterized the Hutchinsons, but it reflected the tastes and problems of their day, and provided a cross section of social life in the 1850's. Audiences expected such programs to open with a family song, telling of the performers' backgrounds and early life, and this the Hutchinsons did in "The Old Granite State." It was usually followed by a dramatic narrative of human tragedy, such as "The Snow Storm," and by songs based on "backwoods humor, not too rough," as illustrated by "For I Should Like

to Marry" and "Horticultural Wife." The westward trek to California and its attendant tragedies were reflected in such songs as "The Emigrant's Dying Child." Propaganda entered into the programs with temperance songs like "King Alcohol," and antislavery ditties, like the stirring "Get Off the Track," which asserted that "the car emancipation, rides majestic through the nation." The climax, said Dr. Jordan, was usually reached in a patriotic song of America, and with such a number, "Uncle Sam's Farm," he brought the program to a close. Its first verse may well be repeated here:

Of all the mighty nations in the East or in the West,
The glorious Yankee nation is the greatest and the best;
We have room for all creation, and our banner is unfurled,
With a general invitation to the people of the world.

The annual address was followed by an informal reception in the society's museum rooms, where refreshments were served. There, too, members of the audience had an opportunity to view two exhibits of Hutchinson material, both of which aroused much interest. In one case were displayed scrapbooks, pictures, posters, programs, portraits, and various other items illustrative of the musicians' interests and activities. These are among the treasured possessions of a granddaughter of Asa Hutchinson, Mrs. Fred Fournie of Savage, who generously loaned them for the occasion. The second display, consisting of some of the sheet music used by the troubadours of the 1850's, came from the large collection of similar items in Dr. Jordan's possession and was exhibited through his courtesy.

BERTHA L. HEILBRON

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

ST. PAUL IN 1849

WHEN THE "Dead Man" whose letters appear elsewhere in this issue made his Mississippi excursion to the Falls of St. Anthony in 1845 he described the landmarks and towns along the river, including the gray walls and keep of Fort Snelling. Quite beneath his mention, however, were the straggling group of shanties and whisky shops and a log chapel across the river on the east bank just a few miles below the fort. This little settlement, composed mainly of some thirty French-Canadian and Swiss families, in only three or four of which English was spoken, was too insignificant for even a "dead man's" notice. But four years later the Mississippi traveler could not overlook St. Paul, capital of the newly formed Minnesota Territory, center of all the activity and growth which this formation heralded. A St. Paul diarist recorded the smoke of eighteen chimneys one winter morning in 1848; by April the buildings had trebled and the population doubled. Seventy structures were erected during the first three weeks of May; logs that were in the boom at the Falls of St. Anthony one week were reported in the framework of St. Paul's new houses by the next. A handful of settlers had grown within a year to a busy town of 840 inhabitants.¹

Such was St. Paul in the fall of 1849, and it is not surprising that it figured frequently in the descriptions of a

¹ J. Fletcher Williams, *History of the City of Saint Paul and the County of Ramsey*, 202 n. (*Minnesota Historical Collections*, vol. 4—St. Paul, 1876); Edward D. Neill to the American Home Missionary Society, April 30, 1849; *Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), May 26, 1849; *Independent* (New York), December 6, 1848. Letters and reports relating to Minnesota in the papers of the American Home Missionary Society have been copied on filmslides for the Minnesota Historical Society. The society has type-written copies of the items from the *Independent* cited herein.

later Mississippi excursionist, a Galena pastor who wrote a series of letters published in the *New York Independent* during the years 1849-51. These letters, sometimes labeled "From a Correspondent at the West" and sometimes signed with the initials "G.F.M." were probably all from the pen of the Reverend George F. Magoun, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Galena, and later president of Iowa College at Grinnell, Iowa. Dr. Magoun was in St. Paul in September, 1849, and the following was doubtless written by him.² It is unsigned.

SARAH A. DAVIDSON

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

[From the *Independent* (New York), October 18, 1849.]

FROM A CORRESPONDENT AT THE WEST.

GALENA, ILL., Oct. 2, 1849.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE INDEPENDENT:

Those of your readers who wish to see our bolder western scenery in all its primitive grandeur may be abundantly gratified by a trip on one of the steam packets plying between this city and the new Territory of Minnesota. . . . So little has been done yet in the settlement of the country along the upper river, compared with its whole immense extent, that the traveler sees almost precisely the same scene beheld in part by Marquette and Joliet in 1673, when, after floating seven days down the Wisconsin, "they entered happily the Great River,"³ — and beheld in full, seven years afterward by Father Hennepin, when he gave to the celebrated spot — which still retains

² In the *Independent* of June 21, 1849, the western correspondent referred to himself as a Galena pastor. The only pastor in Galena at that date with the initials G.F.M. was George F. Magoun. There are many other indications that Dr. Magoun was the author of the letters to the *Independent*. That "Brother Magoun Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church Galena" attended a lecture given by Neill in St. Paul on September 20, 1849, is recorded in the latter's letter to the executive committee of the American Home Missionary Society, September 21, 1849. This date coincides with the information in the letter published herewith.

³ This passage from Marquette's narrative is translated as, "We safely entered Missisipi on the 17th of June, with a Joy that I cannot Express," in Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, 59: 107 (Cleveland, 1900).

it—the name of the Falls of St. Anthony (of Padua.) There are still but few towns where, ten years hence there will be many. The beautiful lakes into which the rivers widen, wash shores that are almost as undisturbed by other sounds as they were a century ago; and the magnificent highlands that give character to the scenery are as they were when the French Jesuits first looked upon them with wonder. Great changes are beginning, but they are only beginning. . . .⁴

. . . The most majestic features of the scenery have disappeared; the limestone also which marks the lead region of Wisconsin and Illinois has disappeared, and a fine white sandstone takes its place. Sometimes this sandstone, rising perpendicularly from the water's edge, and covered with creeping vines, with here and there a pine tree rooted in the crevices, and hollowed and grooved below by the current, gives singular beauty to the banks. There is *St. Paul!* the capital of Minnesota at present, the point to which so many migratory thoughts have been directed during the past season. On a high bluff overlooking the river for many miles, and a large extent of country built, or going to be built, a mile long from the lower landing to the upper, and crowded to overflowing with the strangest mixture of people from all quarters, east, west, south and north; that is *St. Paul!* Let us leave the boat and look at life in Minnesota.

The Indian towns and stations that I have named are on the Iowa side of the river; St. Paul is on the Wisconsin or eastern side. It owes its origin to the fact, we were told, that the military reservation around Fort Snelling, at the mouth of the St. Peters, extended nearly to this point, and whisky traders located here by necessity. It takes its name from a little Catholic chapel built of logs—"St. Paul's Chapel." A member of the American Fur Company resides here, who was the first town proprietor, and is a man of enterprise and comprehensive views. He has just erected a large three story hotel,⁵ from which the American flag is flying yonder—and has given lots both for a church and a dwelling-house to the excellent missionary

⁴The three and a half paragraphs that are here omitted are devoted to an account of the trip up the Mississippi from Galena to the mouth of the St. Croix, up that stream to Stillwater, back through Lake St. Croix to the Mississippi, and northward past Kaposia.

⁵This was Henry M. Rice, who as early as April 28, 1849, was "very much identified with the growth and prosperity of St. Paul." His hotel was known as the American House. *Pioneer*, April 28, June 14, July 5, 1849.

sent hither by the A[merican] H[ome] M[issionary] Society.⁶ The rush of the whole population apparently to the boat is occasioned by the fact that she is the only regular steamer, and brings the weekly mail from Prairie Du Chien.⁷ Everybody is curious to see, too, who is coming to Minnesota. All kinds of goods, farming and household utensils, baggage, &c. are poured from the decks and hold of our steamer. Our Winnebago passengers, 25 in number, get their horses ready for their journey to their new location on the St. Peters river above.⁸ Their women attach their bags of provision and other burdens to large bands which pass over the forehead, and then trudge off. The half-breed lady yonder, who has been sitting in the cabin with so much of the air of civilized life passes out to the St. Anthony road, carefully wraps her bonnet in her handkerchief, swings her little girl upon her shoulder, *a la pappoose* and trudges off on foot with the rest. These are Dacotas or Sioux who come down the bluff wrapped in their blankets, and having evidently been so studious and careful at the toilet. Some of them wear red flannel leggins, are painted with hideous ingenuity, have feathers in their hair, and altogether are quite picturesque. These huge two-wheeled wooden carts standing in rows 200 in number, are from Lord Selkirk's settlement on the Red River of the North in the British Possessions. There is not a particle of iron about them. They are fastened together with

⁶ The missionary was Neill, who, after a preliminary trip in April, arrived in St. Paul on July 12, 1849. A small lecture room for his use, which the *Pioneer* of July 19 had announced was about to be erected on a lot donated by Rice, was completed in the fall. It later became the First Presbyterian Church of St. Paul. Neill to the American Home Missionary Society, September 21, 1849; Neill, *Early Days of the Presbyterian Branch of the Holy Catholic Church in the State of Minnesota*, xvii–xix (Minneapolis, 1873).

⁷ Coming "round the bend of the river on Thursday . . . with her pipe in her mouth," the "Senator" was the most eagerly awaited steamboat at the St. Paul levee, because, in spite of the *Pioneer's* demands for at least a triweekly service, this was the only boat bringing mail to the territory. The "Senator" was famous for its punctuality, but there were other steamboats making regular connections between Prairie du Chien and St. Paul. The *Pioneer* mentions the "Cora" and the two "Dr. Franklins." *Pioneer*, June 7, August 2, 16, 1849.

⁸ An attempt was made to remove the Winnebago Indians, who were becoming a nuisance to white settlement in Iowa, and place them in Minnesota as a sort of buffer between the warring Chippewa and Sioux. For a full account of this transplanting, which began in the summer of 1848, see William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 1: 308–320 (St. Paul, 1921).

wooden pins and thongs of green hide. The harnesses also are of wood and green hide. Many of them are drawn by a single ox harnessed to the vehicle like a horse. They have come seven hundred miles,—a journey of thirty days,—bringing buffalo robes, buffalo meat, moccasins, &c. to exchange for merchandise. Some of them have two horses or ponies, one only being driven at a time; the other following without a halter, and scarcely stopping to snatch a bite of grass. The barrels tumbling down to the landing are filled with cranberries, which are gathered by the Indians from the marshes in the vicinity. How the eyes of the housewives of Massachusetts would sparkle to see cranberries of such a size and flavor! Three thousand barrels will be shipped down the river this year, and the trade in them next season will be much heavier. The Indians who have gathered them have now gone to the small lakes for wild rice, a much better article than the S[outh] Am[erican] article of the market. The numerous articles of Indian manufacture in the stores would advertise us, if there were not so many blankets in the streets, that here civilized life and savage life come together. The moccasins wrought with the quill of the porcupine by the Ojibway women are truly beautiful. Many of the men we meet, Americans and French Canadians [*sic*], wear moccasins. Yet the good order of civilized life is apparent every where. . . .

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

King of the Fur Traders: The Deeds and Deviltry of Pierre Esprit Radisson. By STANLEY VESTAL. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940. x, 326 p. \$3.50.)

This is a thriller, a Wild West story, told with verve and abandon, in an easy style befitting the subject. To call it history or biography, however, is beside the mark. Stanley Vestal is known as the recorder of Indian fights and daredevil exploits, but until now he has confined his descriptions to the nineteenth century, to the life of *Sitting Bull*, *Champion of the Sioux*, to the *Mountain Men* of the Rocky Mountain fur trade. It is evident he was attracted to the life of Pierre d' Esprit Radisson by the same "deviltry" that he so well describes for the Far West.

Although the type of character may be the same as those with whom he formerly dealt, the background is essentially different and the author is not at home in seventeenth-century New France. For instance, he confuses the intendant Jacques Duchesneau with the well-known Canadian merchant, Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye; he has Radisson living with his parents at Three Rivers, where his father never went. He follows very literally Radisson's own account of his early adventures and exploits, and the people who surround him are puppets or shadows. He admits that a "note of exaggeration" has crept into Radisson's reminiscences, but thinks even these more important than ascertaining what Radisson really did. Historians, he says, "have been too much concerned with dates and places," so he himself makes no new or important study of either dates or places. He accepts the orthodox views, even when these have been proved impossible by other writers. He places Radisson and Groseilliers' "fourth" journey in 1661-63, even when precise documents show that one or both were in Three Rivers within those years. Worst of all, he holds to the myth of the discovery of the Mississippi, despite the fact that most students have long ago rejected Radisson's "forked river" as applying to the upper waters of the Mississippi.

It does not seem to have occurred to the author of this book that

Radisson and his journals are interesting to Middle Western historians because of his explorations, because he was conjecturally the first white man on Lake Superior, the first to build a habitation in Wisconsin, the first to visit the Sioux Indians, that he was the explorer who led the way for the fur traders and missionaries, the first to realize the possibilities of the route into the interior via Hudson Bay. He is concerned with Radisson as a daredevil who gets into and out of innumerable scrapes. "*Toujours l'audace*" is the motto he gives him, and our author admires him for his ability to outwit his rivals, for his incomparable *sang froid* in danger, for his tremendous influence over the Indians.

After taking him through his Midwestern voyages, he shows how he deserted to the English and that his influence led to the founding of the Hudson's Bay Company, which he again deserted for service with France. The author admits that Radisson changed his allegiance to suit his convenience, but excuses this by the unfair treatment he received both from the governors of the great company and from the officials of France and New France. This perhaps explains his motives rather than his conduct, for he seems to have had no loyalty, but to have as readily used his abilities for whichever party paid him best.

That there is a Radisson problem aside from the doughty deeds of his hero this author does not state. He makes no effort to solve the thorny questions of dates and places, and believes that no more material is likely to be found concerning Radisson, who first burst upon the historical consciousness with the finding in 1885 of his journals, in curious and amazing English, at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Yet the immense archives of the Hudson's Bay Company have only been skimmed, and the Radisson material in France has yet to be garnered. True, Mr. Vestal has presented a considerable bibliography on the Radisson problem, which we wonder if he has himself digested. Probably not, as "dates and places" do not interest him compared with the thrilling deeds of his hero. Stanley Vestal has here given a book of adventure, not a solution of the Radisson problem or even an approximation of the value of the primitive world to which his hero introduces us. The definitive study of the career of Radisson and his place in seventeenth-century exploration is yet to appear, and may be more satisfactory than this account of the *King of the Fur Traders*.

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN
MADISON

The Diplomatic History of the Canadian Boundary, 1749-1763. By MAX SAVELLE. (New Haven, Yale University Press, for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: Division of Economics and History, 1940. xiv, 172 p. Maps. \$2.50.)

In this latest addition to the admirable series of studies of the *Relations of Canada and the United States* sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Mr. Savelle collects the widely scattered threads of an involved story of diplomacy and weaves them into a narrative that is readable as well as scholarly and objective. The monograph is the more welcome because less has been known, or at any rate accessible in convenient form, of the particulars of this early period in the history of the Canadian boundary than of the later periods.

Mr. Savelle's subject is dealt with, clearly and with satisfactory conciseness, in nine chapters together with a preface in which the historical background is set up. The first chapter defines the issues. The second, appropriately described as "Diplomatic Futility," sets forth the unavailing efforts of the Anglo-French commission on colonial boundaries, between 1750 and 1754, to reach at least something that looked like common ground. Later chapters deal with frontier action and diplomatic stalemate between 1752 and 1754; the diplomatic crisis of 1755; the appeal to European opinion; colonial diplomacy in war time; Pitt's negotiations in 1761; and the treaty of Paris in 1763. Finally the author brings the threads of his narrative together in a concluding chapter. A bibliography and some very helpful maps round out this very praiseworthy piece of research.

As I read this book — and I should like to say again that it is distinctly readable, which many scholarly books are not — I was reminded of a number of facts that one is inclined to forget. One is that the proposed use of the forty-ninth parallel as a boundary goes back at least to 1719, when it was included in the instructions to the British representatives sent to Paris to settle boundaries between the British and French possessions in America. Many years after the period covered by this treatise the convenience of a purely artificial boundary was recognized, and the forty-ninth parallel became a symbol of almost ideal relations between two neighboring countries.

The extraordinary influence of the ever-advancing frontier upon the character of the people of the United States was brought home to many of us by Frederick J. Turner in a paper read in 1893 before the

American Historical Association, and Turner's conclusions have been confirmed by later historians. Professor A. L. Burt, in a paper presented to the Canadian Historical Association in 1940, "The Frontier in the History of New France," discusses the same problem as it relates to Canada. The argument is not quite so convincing on the Canadian side, because of different conditions, such as the geographical bottleneck between East and West.

Be that as it may, it is interesting to have many of the facts that make up the historical foundations of Turner's theory brought together by Mr. Savelle in convenient form, facts that have to do with the long struggle between England and France, and between New England and New France, over the western boundary of the English colonies. Had France succeeded in stemming the tide of English colonial expansion at the Alleghenies there might have been no basis for the theory.

The French claim was based largely upon prior discovery of the Ohio by La Salle, and as Mr. Savelle's repeated references to these claims seem to imply his acceptance of La Salle's discovery in 1679 as authentic, one wonders if he has read Father Jean Delanglez' examination of the proofs of the discovery in *Some La Salle Journeys* (1938). A careful reading of that closely reasoned argument leaves one with the impression that La Salle's journey to the Ohio rests upon a very insecure foundation. Mr. Savelle writes (p. 77):

The French ministry, guided by such students of colonial affairs as La Galissonnière, had recognized this movement westward [of the British colonies], and, convinced of the justice of the French claim to all the lands between the Allegheny watershed and the Spanish possessions in the Far West, had determined to block it. Basing their claim upon prior discovery and occupation, they were determined, despite the slight value of the disputed areas, to establish the security of New France once and for all by wringing from Great Britain a recognition of the watershed as the boundary between the French and British empires in North America. France was on the defensive: not, indeed, in defense of a profitable empire — for profitable New France never was — but in defense of a colonial possession upon which depended the balance of power, not only in America, but in the Old World as well. Judged on the basis both of its historical antecedents and of the logic of geography, the French position, save as it concerned Acadia, seems to have been the sounder of the two.

This somewhat lengthy quotation seems justified because it sums up the author's interpretation of the French attitude in the vital issue of western boundaries, and his own opinion as to the merits of the French and British cases. I doubt if he has made out an altogether convincing

case for his conclusion that the French position was sounder than that of Great Britain. By "historical antecedents" I presume he means prior discovery and settlement. The only discovery mentioned is that of La Salle, and that, as already pointed out, is open to doubt. Both sides claimed settlement, and it might be difficult to prove conclusively which had the better claim. I am not altogether clear what he means by the "logic of geography." It can hardly be argued, for instance, that the presence of Canada in the far North and of Louisiana in the far South gave the French a better geographical claim to the intervening region east of the Mississippi than the natural expansion of the British colonies to the westward. Nor can one quite see the force of the argument that the retention of the French territorial claims was vital to the balance of power both in America and in Europe. On the contrary one gets the impression from the history of diplomatic negotiations that that was not much more than a bargaining point to frighten Spain into the French camp. The fisheries of Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence appear to have been of more importance to both sides than the immense interior of the continent, and both England and France in 1761 and 1762 treated quite seriously the idea of substituting Guadeloupe for Canada.

At the risk of seeming hypercritical, I suggest that the description of the attack by Boscawen on the French fleet off Newfoundland in 1755 as "treacherously begun" (p. 76) demands some justification. George M. Wrong, in his *Rise and Fall of New France*, calls it "sheer piracy," but I suppose the same might be said of many of the engagements of Drake and Hawkins on the Spanish Main. Piracy in the days of Drake and Hawkins, and even in the days of Boscawen, did not mean what it would mean today; but treachery has always been treachery, and one of the least forgivable of sins.

La Galissonnière, it is said on p. 44, began to construct Fort Rouillé (Toronto) in the summer of 1749 in order to checkmate the influence of Oswego. Percy J. Robinson, in his *Toronto during the French Régime* (which might very well have been included in the bibliography), carries the history of the post near the mouth of the Humber back to a considerably earlier date.

Rightly or wrongly, most reviewers feel it their duty to pick holes in the book before them. I should be sorry to think that in doing that I have led anyone to suppose that Mr. Savelle's *Diplomatic History*

of the Canadian Boundary is anything less than a very well-informed and scholarly piece of work.

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION
OTTAWA, CANADA

American History to 1865. By GEORGE M. STEPHENSON, professor of history, University of Minnesota. (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1940. x, 698 p. Illustrations, maps. \$3.50.)

It is becoming increasingly difficult to write a textbook in American history that is strikingly new, original, or different. New interpretations, inclusive generalizations, and significant developments in this field are likely to appear less frequently in the future than they have in the past. Textbooks for the secondary schools can stress organization, pedagogical apparatus, and simplicity, and thus lend the color of originality to content that is essentially traditional, but at the college level the author is quite definitely limited to the somewhat prosaic task of trying to improve upon the quality of previous presentations. Hence the excellence or inferiority of a new college text must be judged by the number and quality of its details rather than by its attempt toward originality or uniqueness. Professor Stephenson has written a textbook that makes no pretensions to being unique, unconventional, or teratogenic. Its general quality can therefore be determined only by considering some of its detailed characteristics.

American History to 1865 has no main parts or epochs, but is divided into forty-one chapters, which are so arranged as to put emphasis upon outstanding men, events, trends, and developments and at the same time maintain a clear chronological sequence. It contains nineteen illustrations, several of which are reproductions from sources. Seventeen clear and propaedeutic maps are inserted at pertinent places. An extensive and briefly annotated bibliography of thirty-three pages gives evidence of scholarship and furnishes definite guidance for further reading.

The book is written in a clear, direct style with occasional passages of outstanding strength and charm. The author reveals a robust and catholic sense of humor and coins occasional phrases of a picturesque and forceful nature. The West is described as "a region of high religious voltage" (p. 236); the "Methodist exhorter indicted the sinner" (p. 239); and the "speeches of Congressmen, even in the dry

pages of the *Congressional Debates* . . . testify to inspiration drawn from a bottle" (p. 291). Frankness is another quality which is repeatedly demonstrated. Henry Clay is described as "a gambler in politics" (p. 260); Webster was "without scruples in accepting retainers" (p. 306); Cass was nominated "on a platform that evaded the issue" (p. 494).

Being a scholar and an exponent of the scientific method, Professor Stephenson is chary of interpolations, exhortations, interpretations, and pronouncements, but now and then he does yield to the opportunity and cites a moral or implies an opinion. The outbursts of President Timothy Dwight against Jefferson remind the author of contemporary pronouncements against Russia and the Communists (p. 196). A certain "commission had the strength of men of outstanding ability, but the weakness of men of strong individuality" (p. 223). "She was a beautiful, intellectual woman, which may be one reason for her unpopularity with the wives of the members." (p. 294). These instances of personal reactions are, however, exceedingly few and so are all the more convincing when they do appear.

The treatment of wars, particularly the Revolutionary, is somewhat catalogic, but the causes, general developments, and the consequences are fully and adequately described. Most recent textbooks tend to stress the social and economic rather than the military and political. Professor Stephenson agrees with this trend. He has described racial groups, daily life and customs, amusements, literature, and religion. In fact, he has made a notable contribution in the field of religion. He shows that the churches were social institutions of great significance and that their teachings had many effects beyond the organizations themselves. Few general books have described this influence adequately and sympathetically.

Some of the chapters deserve specific mention. Chapter 5 is an excellent example of a synthesized picture of the varied and disparate English colonies. Chapter 10, describing the development of the states during and after the Revolution, deserves commendation because it presents the basic backgrounds out of which the national government emerged. Most general treatments deal almost wholly with the national scene. Chapters 11 and 17 enable the reader to appreciate the course of the development of our public lands. This enormously significant aspect is too frequently given a catalogic treatment which hides

its importance. And chapter 17 contains another valuable phase—it describes how the frontier tended to produce democracy. Many who pronounce the Turner hypothesis would stammer with confusion if they were asked to give specific instances of its operation. Those who might be caught in this predicament should read the latter half of chapter 17 with great care. Chapter 18 gives an unusually impressive account of the growth of state governments. Chapter 25 is a thrilling narrative about thrilling events. Chapters dealing with the Kansas-Nebraska Act, "Popular Sovereignty in Practice," and the "Great Decision" are solemn and dramatic. Chapter 27 is an excellent treatment of our immigrants, unhappily named "The Immigrant Invasion."

After a rather meticulous search, the reviewer can cite only one error and he mentions it merely because he could find none of greater consequence. The treaty of Greenville did not provide for the cession of "southeastern" Ohio (p. 180) but for southwestern Ohio and southeastern Indiana. Of more importance, he wishes to dissent strongly from the unmerited stricture upon Spanish achievements contained on page 6. Also he declares that Monroe's veto message of 1822 was not "pedantic" (p. 280); that *Miles Register* was not like the *Literary Digest* (p. 284); and that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* does not present "a one-sided picture of slavery" (p. 478). Of the three slave-owning homes described by Harriet Beecher Stowe, two present almost idyllic conditions for the slaves.

A still more important criticism is the one that the early part of American history is simply not given. How can one write an American history and ignore the Spanish and bring in the French merely for the dramatic purpose of throwing them out in 1763? Bolton seems to have labored in vain. And now, of all times, our historians should labor diligently, not merely to aid national policy, but to repair a long-standing wrong which their neglect has done to Latin America. Since Professor Stephenson chose to so restrict and delimit his treatment, he should have apologized by calling it merely "A History of the United States with a Brief Treatment of the Colonial Period insofar as It Touched Our Area." This paragraph is a criticism not of what was done but of what was not done. What has been done is superb.

EDGAR B. WESLEY

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS

Norwegian Migration to America: The American Transition. By THEODORE C. BLEGEN, dean of the graduate school in the University of Minnesota. (Northfield, Minnesota, The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1940. xii, 655 p. Illustrations. \$3.50.)

Since the times when Claus L. Clausen and Svein Nilsson urged their immigrant countrymen to write up their experiences for publication in the press, Norwegian Americans have shown a keen awareness of their historical role in the great transatlantic movement of mankind. This interest, less filiopietistic than in the case of some other national groups, has produced a stream of historians of Norwegian immigration, beginning in the latter part of the nineteenth century with Knud Langeland and Rasmus B. Anderson, and reaching higher levels in the work of such later scholars as Hjalmar R. Holand, George T. Flom, O. M. Norlie, Carlton C. Qualey, and Theodore C. Blegen. The same interest led to the establishment of the Norwegian-American Historical Association in the centennial year of the arrival of the "sloop folk" and to the founding at Decorah of a unique museum of Norwegian-American pioneer life. Under the auspices of the Norwegian-American Historical Association there has been carried forward an integrated program of collecting and editing source materials and of publishing scholarly articles and books of a far-ranging character.

Backed by this fine tradition and the growing accumulation of original records and monographic studies, Dean Blegen has produced a book that is outstanding in the historiography of American immigration. It forms a companion piece to his volume *Norwegian Migration to America, 1825-1860* (1931), which traced the genesis and early expansion of the Norwegian efflux with due reference to its Old World background. In this new work he carries the story on to the present time, but devotes the lion's share of his attention to the settlers' adjustment to American life in both the pre-Civil War and the later periods. To the reviewer the treatment would have been less confusing if the chapters continuing the theme of the previous book had been placed at the beginning rather than in the latter part of the present volume; but aside from this consideration, the author cannot be charged with lack of clarity in either organization or expression.

Dean Blegen offers a thick slice of American history concerning

which little has hitherto been known in regard to the Norwegian newcomers or, for that matter, in regard to any other immigrant folk. The story constitutes an essential part of the national record, for, as has often been pointed out, the American way of life has been the product of a collaboration of peoples from many lands. He examines the process of acculturation in its most varied aspects—not only with reference to bread-and-butter activities and problems of religious and educational transition, but also to such homely and vital matters as speech, dress, diet, and social customs. Very illuminating, for example, is the comment of an immigrant regarding servant girls: "The first Sunday after their arrival in America they still wear their usual old Norwegian clothes; the next Sunday, it's a new dress; the third, a hat, a parasol, a silk shawl, new clothes from top to toe."

Nearly every phase of the adjustment involved a persistent struggle between those who, wishing to conserve the values of the Norwegian heritage, feared a too rapid and complete Americanization; those who embraced the new ways with uncritical enthusiasm; and those who sought a sane middle course. Dean Blegen's steady hand follows this conflict into many bypaths while treating in some detail the interplay of forces in the domains of religion and education.

Facts are the oils from which he paints his canvas, but these are invariably subordinated in such a way as to highlight the picture as a whole. In very considerable degree Dean Blegen's account of American transition is built out of the experiences of countless unimportant persons whose lives illustrate the process in terms of their personal reactions. He does not neglect the "great," but, quite properly, he cares more about what was going on at the grass roots of society. His generalizations arise from what the many did and said and felt rather than the few. He clothes his findings in a prose that always pleases and is frequently distinguished.

In the case of so splendid an achievement, criticisms may seem inviolable; but since the volume is certain to serve as a model for similar studies of other immigrant elements, a few comments may be justified. The subject of intermarriage deserves considerably more than a single, perfunctory reference, for such unions are an acid test of assimilation. Did the Norwegians intermarry most readily with other Scandinavian groups or with non-Scandinavian stocks, and how quickly, and under what conditions? Moreover, little is said about the experience of the

Norwegians in large cities, though the map on page 511 shows significant concentrations in Greater New York, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and elsewhere. A comparison of the nature and speed of acculturation in urban as contrasted with rural environments might well have been enlightening. The failure to consider this matter leaves many questions unanswered. The volume also contains meager information as to the reaction of the American population to the newcomers; and, by the same token, it offers no discussion of the influence of Norwegian immigration on American life at all comparable to the brilliant summary of the influence of emigration on life in the motherland. This last omission may have been prompted by the author's desire to avoid the charge of overstating his case, a fault not uncommon in some earlier historians of immigrant groups.

In physical appearance the volume measures up to its contents. Besides the appropriate jacket designed by Jane McCarthy, there are many contemporary illustrations and also attractive decorations by John L. Ellingboe at the heads of the chapters. The appendix comprises a critical essay with new information concerning "John Quincy Adams and the Sloop 'Restoration.'"

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples, volume 1, Historical. By the late MARCUS LEE HANSEN. Completed and prepared for publication by JOHN BARTLET BREBNER. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1940. xviii, 274 p. Maps. \$3.00.)

The Immigrant in American History. By MARCUS LEE HANSEN. Edited with a foreword by ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1940. 229 p. \$2.50.)

These two volumes complete the trinity of studies from the pen of the late Professor Hansen, the first of which—*The Atlantic Migration*—was reviewed in *Minnesota History* for September, 1940. From the standpoint of scholarship, workmanship, and contribution to knowledge, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples* is undoubtedly the best. All three studies suffer somewhat from the circumstance that failing health and simultaneous occupation with large

projects taxed the author's energies beyond reasonable bounds. Both Professor Schlesinger and Professor Brebner have executed with credit the difficult assignments of editing and seeing through the press manuscripts that were left unfinished or needed revision.

Professor Hansen has achieved success in correlating the events on both sides of the international boundary that produced the migration of peoples of kindred blood and institutions, whose histories are similar and yet so dissimilar. His familiarity with the geography of the North American continent and with the larger aspects of political history is evident on many pages. The thesis of the book is that the Canadian advance and the American advance were not parallel but integral. Perhaps it was the inherent difficulty of the task of presenting the wealth of detail that blurred the picture and made the style heavy. As in *The Atlantic Migration*, the author's partiality to certain types of material sacrifices the intimate touches that are so appealing and significant to many students of human migration.

The beginnings of settlement on the Atlantic seaboard, the migration of the Loyalists, the preference of emigrants from Europe for the United States, the effects of the American Civil War, the lure of American industry, the conquest of the West, the turn of the tide toward Canada at the close of the nineteenth century, and the unusual state of affairs in the postwar years—these events and others—are supplemented by illuminating observations about the pioneering qualities of the Americans and the Canadians, the role of propaganda, the unusual number of Americans who "skedaddled" to Canada to escape the draft during the Civil War, the peculiar character of the migration of the French Canadians, and charts and maps. The study supersedes all others in the field and testifies to the careful planning of Professor James T. Shotwell, the director of the series in which the volume appears.

The Immigrant in American History is a brief volume of essays that have appeared elsewhere in print or were delivered in the form of public lectures. The author's delightful style almost disarms his critics. The chapter on the "Migration across the Border" is an excellent preparation for the reading of the larger study; and the chapter on "Immigration as a Field for Research" charted the course for the author's own explorations. "The Odyssey of the Emigrant" is one of the best descriptions of life on board an emigrant ship that

has yet appeared. When the author tries his hand at interpretation, he sometimes betrays his unfamiliarity with a great body of material which other students have exploited.

It is at least open to question if the emigrant from Europe was such a novice at pioneering as Professor Hansen presents him, although the disagreement may lie in the definition of the term "pioneering." In the chapter on "Immigration and Democracy" the student of Minnesota politics would question the statement that every time Knute Nelson sought re-election, he commanded the almost unanimous support of the Scandinavians. In his stimulating challenge to the conventional interpretation of Puritanism, he provokes challenges to his own and reveals unfamiliarity with the European background of the immigrant churches and with the chain of events that produced Know-Nothingism. Undoubtedly the immigrants, individually and collectively, were influenced by their new environment in religion and in morals as well as in material things; but the Puritanism in the immigrant churches is also explained by the fact that their founders had imbibed the spirit before landing on American shores, either through contact with returned emigrants or through the medium of translations of sermons and tracts or out of disgust with the spirit and polity of "worldly" established churches.

Professor Hansen calls attention to a neglected aspect of cultural history when he suggests that the influence of German immigration was counteracted by the great influx of settlers from England. He expresses surprise that the English, who have contributed the most to American culture, have received the least attention from students of immigration. This observation in turn suggests another, namely, that the time has come for some sort of agreement on the definition and scope of the terms "immigration" and "immigrant."

The author of these volumes was one of the pioneers in the study of the history of immigration; and if the reviewer has correctly sensed the spirit that animated his research, he may be certain that he would have welcomed disagreement with his conclusions because he was painfully aware of the tentative character of his own studies and of the vast amount of research that must be done before a definitive history of what he calls the "Common Man's Utopia" can be written.

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS

The Illinois. By JAMES GRAY. (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, Incorporated, 1940. x, 355 p. Illustrations. \$2.50.)

The Illinois is not a spectacular river. Broad, slow-moving, calm, it has given rise to no great growth of legend, its valley has no name for beauty, its destructive power has been so thoroughly tamed that it rarely makes headlines even in flood times.

But the Illinois has a history. Two hundred and sixty-eight years ago Marquette and Jolliet first passed over its smooth waters; for nearly a century thereafter it was a highway of empire. Little French villages grew up on its shores or not far from it, only to yield, after placid decades, to the irresistible tide of American settlement. Great names of the nineteenth century—Lincoln, Douglas, Grant, Lovejoy, to name but a few—were associated with it, while in the twentieth, Masters, Lindsay, and Sandburg have kept alive its fame. And through all the years it has carried commerce—first by flatboat, then by river steamer, finally by steel barge.

Of this history Mr. Gray has succeeded in making a lively, readable book, partly because of his emphasis on the romantic and picturesque, partly by his own gift of phrase. For the fact that he did not set out to write the weighty dullness that too often passes for "serious" history, he should not be criticized. Nevertheless, his book would have been the better for a little more of the historian's regard for accuracy. His most serious derelictions are his account of the death of Pontiac and his acceptance of the Starved Rock legend as fact, but a good many minor slips reveal either carelessness or lack of real familiarity with the valley of the Illinois and its history.

These deficiencies notwithstanding, *The Illinois* will serve a useful purpose in introducing many who would otherwise be unaware of it to a rich and colorful history.

PAUL M. ANGLE

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY
SPRINGFIELD

The Michigan Constitutional Conventions of 1835-36: Debates and Proceedings (University of Michigan, *Publications, History and Political Science*, vol. 13). Edited by HAROLD M. DORR. (Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 1940. xi, 626 p. \$5.00.)

This is the most significant publication of its kind which has appeared within recent years and it deserves a more detailed review

than has been undertaken in the present instance. It is a book which should be of some interest to students of the history of Minnesota, inasmuch as the whole of that state from 1834 to 1836, and a portion of it from 1818, was a part of the Michigan Territory. It should also not escape the attention of those whose interest is in the comparative study of political institutions in the expanding nation.

The work falls into several parts and sections, but for present purposes it may be stated briefly that the documentary portion embodies the debates and minutes of the convention of May-June, 1835; the debates and minutes of both conventions of 1836, that of September, known as the "convention of dissent," and the succeeding one of December, commonly called the "convention of assent"; committee reports and papers of the three conventions; a republication of six of the principal public acts respecting the admission of Michigan into the Union; and appendixes containing the record of roll calls of the 1835 convention and that of the convention of September, 1835, and a brief bibliographical note. The volume is further implemented by a competent and serviceable index, and by an introductory essay of some fifty pages which supplies the historical setting for the documents which follow. Professor Dorr has succeeded in disentangling the complicated threads of Michigan history during the fateful years 1834-36, particularly in relation to the controversy with Ohio over the boundary line between that state and Michigan Territory. He adds little that is new in his narrative; nevertheless, it is a well-balanced, succinct, and highly useful guide.

The original record of the debates in the convention in question, taken down by the official reporter, has been lost, though the journal itself was printed soon after the conclusion of the convention sessions. Professor Dorr has collected excerpts from such contemporary newspapers as the *Free Press* and the *Detroit Journal*, which contain both the minutes and the debates insofar as the latter were reported. And they seem to have been fairly completely taken down by the reporters, though of course with the political bias of their respective newspapers. The editor has, however, taken the pains to reproduce accounts of the same speeches made on the floor of the convention found in more than one newspaper. Interlarded with these items are relevant excerpts from the official *Journal*, all the entries then being arranged chronologically. One finds, therefore, a continuous story of the first

convention, which is embellished with some of the most interesting debates the present reviewer has ever read. It is plain that frontier state-making, as illustrated in the present instance, was not inferior to similar procedures in the older eastern states; but this was by no means unique in the West. Nor is it unusual that the work of this first constitutional convention should have turned out to be, on the whole, of a conservative character.

Why was there a second convention, and then a third? The facts are too well known to require restatement in detail. The constitution as drafted and adopted by the convention was duly submitted to Congress. It must be kept in mind that the convention sessions were held in Detroit against the backdrop of the so-called Toledo war, which was precipitated by the rival claims of Ohio and Michigan over their dividing boundary. As the facts stand today, there was little substance to the claims of Ohio. But it turned out that the administration hardly dared, on the eve of a national election, to defy the wishes of Ohio, as well as those of Indiana and Illinois, whose northern boundaries were placed in theoretical jeopardy by Michigan's claims. And so, as John Quincy Adams put it, the issue was now "perfumed with the thirty-five electoral votes of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois." Jackson, who had already destroyed, for patronage purposes, the rather highly professional territorial administrative class that had grown up through the years, now proved amenable to the desires of the Democratic politicians of the Midwestern states—he approved an act of Congress which provided for the admission of Michigan into the Union, but under what Michigan believed to be humiliating terms. The southern boundary was fixed in accordance with the demands of Ohio, with compensation to Michigan in the form of an extension of its northwestern boundary beyond Lake Michigan. Furthermore, the constitution was then to be submitted to a new convention chosen directly by the people. This series of events, then, accounts for the September convention of 1836, which rejected the amendment with respect to the boundary. The debates and minutes of this convention are in the present volume. This rejection was followed by a period in which a kind of revolution occurred in Michigan; it resulted in the calling of the December convention, which signified its approval of the Congressional stipulation. The records of this convention are also present.

The volume is singularly free of errors. Although the reviewer has had no opportunity to check the printed text at the source, a careful reading of every page has disclosed nothing suspicious so far as the textual matter is concerned.

CLARENCE E. CARTER

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Wolves against the Moon. By JULIA COOLEY ALTROCCHI. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1940. xvi, 572 p. \$2.75.)

This is a novel based on the life of the founder of the American branch of the Bailly family. In Minnesota history Alexis Bailly is the chief representative of that family, but he nowhere appears in this novel. Joseph Bailly of Michigan and Indiana is the hero; his half-breed wife, Marie, the Wing Woman, is the heroine. The story begins in old Quebec in 1794 and ends, for all practical purposes, in the vicinity of Chicago in 1834. Its theme, fairly well concealed, is the disappearance of the frontier in the Old Northwest. Though Joseph Bailly's fur-trading activities take him as far afield as Slave Lake and New Orleans, the real theater of his operations lies in the triangle between Mackinac, Fort Wayne, and Chicago.

As a historical novel the book's pace is rather faster than average, despite the almost numberless characters that are introduced. Most of them are taken from history, but a few, notably the villains, seem to be creatures of the author's imagination. A simple romance binds the long and episodical story together. The author contrives to keep the reader's interest by means of skillful dialogue and clever choice of dramatic scenes. A genuine feeling for the atmosphere of the frontier pervades the book, so that even the very critical historian is satisfied. An excellent knowledge of French-Canadian customs and language surprises and charms the sensitive reader, who, alas, has grown accustomed to awkward caricatures of voyageurs' and habitants' mannerisms and phrases. Some of the characters and scenes are so well drawn that the reader feels justified in hoping that the author will continue to write novels of the fur-trading period in American history.

GRACE LEE NUTE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

Growing Pains: Diaries and Drawings for the Years 1908-1917. By WANDA GÁG. (New York, Coward-McCann Inc., 1940. xx, 479 p. Illustrations. \$3.75.)

For Minnesotans this is an important book. It is not merely the diary of an ambitious and intelligent girl faithfully kept from the age of fifteen to twenty-four—"a veritable case-history in adolescent psychology," as the foreword calls it—but a compelling record of certain cultural forces at work in this state during the prewar years from 1908 to 1917. The story is admirably told, with its factual material woven into a perplexing fabric of dreams, doubts, and tremendous personal effort that is the youthful experience of this remarkable artist.

The cultural forces are particularly fascinating to watch as they unfold through the book and they are important to us because they are an integral part of a tradition that is Minnesota's. One is a creative drive and capacity for hard work that is inherited through generations and consciously encouraged. Anton Gág, Wanda's father, was a painter and cabinetmaker who had ambitions to become an artist. Even though this activity was limited to Sundays in the attic, the remarkable canvas hanging in the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society today shows that he had the possibilities. The plaintive command to his daughter on his deathbed, "What papa couldn't do Wanda will have to finish," became associated with her own well-developed love of drawing and the relentless necessities of family support which fell largely on her own shoulders. The conviction that art was life itself, and the pathetic struggle of the oldest girl in a poverty-stricken family of eight toward selfrealization, are dramatic factors in themselves. At the same time they are experiences that can be discovered in the background of many an outstanding American artist and intellectual today.

A second element revealed in this diary is the help and encouragement given to art and the artist by a responsible society. Miss Gág records with gratitude the help given for the bare necessities of living by kindly neighbors and relatives, from painting the house and sawing the wood to bringing bread and mending the children's socks. Neighbors and the corner drugstore helped to market her drawings, editors of Twin City newspapers took personal interest in helping her along, and where funds were lacking the art schools were willing to do their

part through scholarships: "any time you are ready to come to art school, just write to me and we'll find some way for you to go. Minnesota needs you" (p. 112).

To those who have supported art institutions in Minnesota this will indeed bring a justifiable sense of pride. But it also calls forth a question. What has happened to Wanda Gág and scores of other nationally known artists from this state whose work is the product of this personal and collective effort? The answer is simply that their support as professional artists has been limited and the great majority of them have found it profitable to live elsewhere where there is a readier market for their pictures. Perhaps this book, recording the *Growing Pains* of one of these personalities, may contribute something to the understanding and appreciation not only of the struggle, but also of the artistic expression that has been achieved in the process.

LAURENCE SCHMECKEBIER

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS

Insurgency: Personalities and Politics of the Taft Era (Columbia University, *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, no. 470). By KENNETH W. HECHLER, Ph.D., lecturer in government, Barnard College and Columbia University. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1940. 252 p. \$3.00.)

To the growing list of works dealing with the progressive movement of the early twentieth century, Dr. Hechler, in his study of Republican Congressional insurgency from 1909 to 1911, has made a distinct if limited contribution. The author opens his monograph with a background chapter on the historical and geographic roots of insurgency and proceeds in a series of chapters to consider the insurgent leaders and the issues on which their revolt was based.

Insurgency, Dr. Hechler holds, was, in the main, "a middle-western agrarian protest differing little from similar waves of discontent that had arisen in this area during the last quarter of the nineteenth century." Political unrest existed in the East and the Far West, but, the author insists, with less intensity than in the Middle Western corn and wheat regions. The insurgents were, in a word, the direct descendants of the Populists, and their grievances, except currency, were those of Populism. This sharp historical and geo-

graphic delimitation of insurgency permits the author to dismiss with inadequate treatment the relationship of the political revolt to the broader contemporary reform movement. Insurgency was the political expression of the quest for social justice that marked the opening decades of the century; and the insurgents, it would seem, can best be evaluated by considering them as one of a number of diverse groups bent on reform. One may also be permitted the privilege of suspecting that all reformers after 1896 were not simply latter-day Populists.

The Congressional history of insurgency, the principal theme of this study, is treated adequately. In the House of Representatives the outstanding battle occurred on the question of the power of the speaker, "Uncle Joe" Cannon, and the defeat of the regulars in March, 1910, was a signal triumph for the insurgents. In the Senate another notable conflict was waged on the Payne-Aldrich tariff. Despite the sustained and dramatic efforts of the insurgents, however, few schedules of the tariff measure were altered. Less well-known struggles of the insurgents took place on the issues of income tax legislation, the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy, postal savings banks, railway rate regulation, and Canadian reciprocity.

Dr. Hechler's identification of the insurgent leaders is of particular interest. His thumbnail sketches add little of significance to what is known of these men; what is important is his evaluation of the parts played by the individual insurgents. The two outstanding leaders were, of course, George W. Norris in the House and Robert M. La Follette in the Senate, but to these names must be added a dozen others: in the House, E. H. Madison and Victor Murdoch of Kansas, Miles Poindexter of Washington, John M. Nelson of Wisconsin, and C. N. Fowler of New Jersey; in the Senate, Albert B. Cummings and J. P. Dolliver of Iowa, J. L. Bristow of Kansas, and Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana. Minnesota contributed two leaders to insurgency—Senator Moses E. Clapp and Representative Charles A. Lindbergh. Lindbergh is characterized by Dr. Hechler as "one of the most advanced of the Insurgents in his economic thinking."

One point as to the sources used by Dr. Hechler must be emphasized. In addition to the obvious official sources, the contemporary press, biographies and autobiographies, and numerous manuscript collections (of which those of Senator Bristow and Senator Poindexter

were most important), the author added a source available to few historians—interviews with men and women directly or indirectly connected with the events of his story. The fifty persons listed in the bibliography as the subject of personal interviews undoubtedly contributed much to the author's understanding of the men and issues of insurgency. Many interesting details regarding the organization of the insurgents and their negotiations with the Democrats and many interesting personal judgments would have been lacking in this study had the author failed to make these personal contacts.

There is an obvious advantage in writing history of this kind before the principal actors have all passed from the scene. If all authors can use the interview as competently as Dr. Hechler has, the practice ought to be encouraged.

ROBERT H. BAHMER

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Shipstead of Minnesota. By MARTIN ROSS, assisted by KATHERINE FERGUSON CHALKLEY. (Chicago, Packard and Company, 1940. 140 p. Portrait. \$60.)

This slender, paper-bound volume is not a definitive life of Senator Shipstead. The material is confessedly incomplete and secondary, hastily organized without final consideration of balance and proportion. Professor Ross calls it a preliminary sketch to a proposed full-measure biography.

Within the granted limits, the sketch is concise, systematic, and skillfully written. It is no bare individual chronicle, but a convincing attempt to portray Shipstead as the representative of a twentieth-century Jeffersonian agrarianism brought up against machine-age industrial and social problems. Prominent figures on both sides receive discerning attention. There is Altgeld of Illinois, a martyr of democracy, who showed Shipstead the cost of political pioneering; Lindbergh of Minnesota, who carried forty-fives in his antiwar campaign of 1918; President Coolidge, who shared more than one carefully hoarded cigar with Shipstead; Kellogg, Warren, and other conservative senators with whom Minnesota's independent clashed.

Shipstead's own career is plotted with understanding emphasis upon the influence of his progressive father, his experience with urban

and rural problems in Chicago and in Glenwood, and the bitter disillusionments of the World War. He emerges as a man of unique significance, a "non-political officeholder," a man aloof from party ties and the usual sources of political power, virtually alone in the Senate, but exerting influence by virtue of careful preparation, earnest foresight, and a reputation for personal disinterestedness.

Professor Ross very frankly finds Shipstead a sympathetic subject. Critics of the Senator will find little comfort in this presentation of the issues, but it should prove timely reading for those to whom current domestic and international problems present a disturbing challenge.

WILFRED O. STOUT, JR.

UNIVERSITY OF CHATTANOOGA
CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

GRACE FLANDRAU ("St. Paul: The Personality of a City") is a native of St. Paul who is widely known as a novelist. In addition to works of fiction, her writings include a book of travel, *Then I Saw the Congo* (1929), and numerous articles. Dr. John Francis McDermott ("An Upper Mississippi Excursion of 1845") is a member of the English faculty in Washington University, St. Louis. In 1938 he published a study of *Private Libraries in Creole Saint Louis*, and last year a translation of *Tixier's Travels on the Osage Prairies* appeared under his editorship. Dr. Arthur J. Larsen ("The Minnesota Historical Society in 1940") is the superintendent of the society. Bertha L. Heilbron ("The 1941 Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society") is the assistant editor of this magazine. Sarah A. Davidson ("St. Paul in 1849") assisted Dr. Theodore C. Blegen in preparing for publication the narrative of Samuel W. Pond, which appeared in installments in this magazine last year under the title "Two Missionaries in the Sioux Country." Book reviews have been contributed to the present issue by Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, senior research associate on the staff of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Lawrence J. Burpee, a Canadian member of the International Joint Commission; Professor Edgar B. Wesley of the college of education in the University of Minnesota; Dr. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Francis Lee Higginson professor of history in Harvard University; Dr. George M. Stephenson, professor of history in the University of Minnesota; Dr. Paul M. Angle, librarian of the Illinois State Historical Library at Springfield; Dr. Clarence E. Carter, editor of the *Territorial Papers of the United States*; Dr. Grace Lee Nute of the society's staff; Dr. Laurence Schmeckebier, chairman of the fine arts department in the University of Minnesota; Robert H. Bahmer of the staff of the National Archives in Washington, D. C.; and Professor Wilfred O. Stout, Jr., of the department of history in the University of Chattanooga.

Since the superintendent's report on the activities of the society in 1940, including the last quarter of the year, is published elsewhere in

the present number of this magazine, only a few supplementary items are mentioned in the present section.

A tribute is paid to the society and its library staff by Mr. Charles B. Elwood of St. Paul on a recently published chart of *Certain European Origins of the Elwood-Mosher Family* (1940). "The family history from which this Chart is compiled," writes Mr. Elwood, "has been made possible only thru the existence in Saint Paul of the unusually comprehensive Genealogical Library of the Minnesota State Historical Society and the fine courtesy of its staff."

Under the heading "Our Fabulous Fauna," the *Duluth News-Tribune* of January 2 comments editorially on Miss Marjorie Edgar's description of "Imaginary Animals of Northern Minnesota," published in the December issue of this magazine. The "marvelous creatures in our own American mythology," according to the writer, should in time do much to enrich American literature.

A paper on "The Lure of Old Frontenac" which Dr. Nute presented before a session of the seventeenth state historical convention under the auspices of the society at Frontenac Inn on June 17, 1939, has been published in the *Bulletin* of Hamline University for October, 1940.

The problems involved in arranging the society's collection of the "Business Papers of Emerson Cole" are described by Miss McCann in the *Bulletin* of the Business Historical Society for December. The writer tells how the manuscript volumes and papers presented in 1937 by Miss Vera Cole (see *ante*, 18: 210) were arranged and catalogued, and how the society "was able to discover the significance of these papers for the business history of Minnesota and the United States."

A paper on "Re-building the Grand Portage Stockade," presented by Mr. Babcock before a meeting of the American Association of Museums at Detroit, Michigan, on May 22, 1940, is published in the issue of *Museum News* for December 15.

The *Cokato Enterprise* of January 16 reprints the account of the local historical museum at Cokato that appeared in the December issue of this magazine (*ante*, 21: 440-442).

The thirty-one members who joined the society during the last quarter of 1940 include one life member, Mrs. Mary Case Warner of Wayzata, and the following annual members: George W. Anderson of Minneapolis, Elizabeth M. Bachmann of St. Paul, Lawrence H. Bennett of St. Paul, the Reverend Walter B. Beach of Montevideo, Mrs. Richard Blacque of St. Paul, Mrs. Carl A. Blad of St. Paul Park, Mrs. C. E. Denney of St. Paul, James T. Dunn of Olean, New York, John E. Fitzgerald of North St. Paul, Eda D. Flagg of Winona, Sara L. Fletcher of Minneapolis, A. V. Gardner of St. Paul, Marion Snelling Hall of Cincinnati, William P. Harrison of Duluth, Hibbert Hill of Minneapolis, Lieutenant Colonel John R. Holt of Fort Snelling, Moses C. Jones of Wayzata, Mrs. Robert G. Morrison of Minneapolis, R. B. Nelson of Luverne, Theodore L. Nydahl of Mankato, the Reverend Emmett O'Donnell of St. Paul, Mrs. Richardson B. Okie of Minneapolis, Elmer Olson of Minneapolis, M. M. Oppegard of Grand Forks, North Dakota, Mrs. Howard Sargent of St. Paul, Harold M. Sims of St. Paul, Alfred F. Soucheray of St. Paul, Robert O. Sullivan of St. Paul, Arnulf Ueland of Minneapolis, and J. R. Wiggins of St. Paul.

The historical societies of Carver, McLeod, Sibley, and Stearns counties, and the Minnesota Archaeological Society recently became institutional members of the society.

The society lost seven active members by death in the three months from October 1 to December 31: Mrs. O. D. Wisner of Minneapolis on October 13, Dietrich Lange of St. Paul on November 19, Edward C. Congdon of Duluth on November 27, the Reverend Maurice D. Edwards of St. Paul on December 3, Albert Kaiser of Bagley on December 7, Francis A. Chamberlain of Minneapolis on December 17, and E. Fitch Pabody of Minneapolis on December 17.

Nineteen addresses and talks were presented by five members of the staff in the last three months of 1940. The superintendent spoke on the "Function of the Sibley County Historical Society" at a meeting of that organization in Henderson on October 11, on the "Story of Transportation in Minnesota" at the House of Hope Church in St. Paul on November 1 and before the Exchange Club of St. Paul on December 11, and on the "County Historical Society and Its Work" before the Hennepin County Historical Society at Edina on

November 27 and the Otter Tail County Historical Society at Fergus Falls on November 30. Miss Nute gave talks on "Wilderness Marthas" at meetings of the Women's Club of Hibbing on October 17 and of Gamma Phi Beta at the University of Minnesota on November 7, on "Microphotography" before the Minnesota Library Association in St. Paul on October 21, on "Research in European Archives" before a history seminar in Hamline University on October 30, on "The Voyageur" at the House of Hope Church on November 27, and on the "French on Lake Pepin" before the Lake Pepin Valley Historical Society at Lake City on December 11. Members of the latter organization heard Mr. Babcock speak on "Indians in the Lake Pepin Valley" on October 8. He spoke also on the "Indian Medicine Society and Indian Life" in the Historical Building on October 14 (see *ante*, 21: 409), and on "Minnesota Indian Life" before a Minneapolis chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution on October 19; and he described an "Illustrated Ramble through Minnesota History" for the Stearns County Historical Society at St. Cloud on November 30. "Bridging Minnesota's Past" was the subject of a talk given before the Merriam Park Club of St. Paul by Mr. Beeson on October 4; and "Some Frontier Holiday Celebrations" were described by Miss Heilbron at a meeting of the Washington County Historical Society at Bayport on December 12.

ACCESSIONS

Transcripts of some fifty articles prepared between 1856 and 1860 by C. C. Andrews, a Minnesota pioneer who later attained prominence in the fields of diplomacy and forestry, have been made from the file of the *Boston Post* in the Boston Public Library by Miss Harriet L. Fisher of Brookline, Massachusetts. Andrews traveled extensively in Minnesota, using stages and steamboats and visiting such communities as old Crow Wing and the settlements of the Red River Valley. In his letters he describes these places as well as such older settlements as St. Paul, he tells of a visit with the Chippewa chief Hole-in-the-Day at Gull Lake, and he gives information about hotel accommodations, transportation facilities, local politics, and frontier social life and conditions. Miss Fisher has also located in the *Post* and copied for the society a series of letters written in 1865 and 1866 by Oliver H. Kelley, the Minnesota agricultural leader who

founded the Grange. Kelley describes the resources of various sections of Minnesota and reports on Horace Greeley's address at the state fair of 1865.

A Civil War diary of 1864, kept by Truman Tyrell, a member of the Twenty-ninth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, has been photographed for the society through the courtesy of Mr. H. W. Tyrell of Philbrook. Copies have been made also of the issues of the *Natchitoches [Louisiana] Daily Union* for April 2 and 4, 1864, in Mr. Tyrell's possession. These numbers of the *Union* were printed on ledger paper by Union soldiers who had taken over the equipment of a local press and made use of whatever paper stock was available.

Diaries kept by Paul H. Rosendahl in 1865 and 1873 have been presented by Mr. Peter Rosendahl of Spring Grove, through the courtesy of Mr. P. N. Narveson of that community. In a volume for 1863, already in the possession of the society (see *ante*, 9:177), Rosendahl records his experiences as a member of the Sibley expedition. The newly acquired diaries tell of his activities while serving as a corporal with the First Regiment of Mounted Rangers from Minnesota, and of his later career in Houston County, where he became register of deeds.

An account of the survey of the route of the Northern Pacific Railroad through northern Minnesota in 1870 is given by James A. Andrews, a member of the party that made the survey, in a reminiscent narrative presented by Mr. Willis H. Miller of Hudson, Wisconsin. The author describes the Sauk River Valley, presents sketches of the members of the party, and discusses some of their activities.

Two boxes of letters received by James Gray in 1899 and 1900 and seventeen scrapbooks of articles by or about him have been presented by his son, Mr. James Gray of St. Paul. Some of the scrapbooks contain material relating to Gray's activities as mayor of Minneapolis in 1898 and 1899 and to his campaign as Democratic candidate for the governorship in 1910. The series as a whole covers the period from 1892 to 1916 and consists for the most part of articles that Gray wrote while engaged in newspaper work for the *Minneapolis Journal* and the *Minneapolis Times*. Most of the articles written between 1914 and 1916 relate to national affairs, since

in those years Gray was serving as Washington correspondent of the *Journal*.

The early history of St. Louis County is the subject of a paper by Mr. Otto Wieland of Duluth recently presented by the author. He has also presented copies of twelve papers read in 1908 and 1909 by Thomas H. Pressnell before a Duluth chapter of the Grand Army of the Republic on "Incidents in the Civil War." Pressnell, who served with the First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry and other regiments, gives personal recollections of his experiences in the war.

A substantial addition to the papers of the recently disbanded St. Paul Fire Insurance Patrol (see *ante*, 20:330) has been presented through the courtesy of Mr. Roy H. Jefferson of St. Paul. This material, which is on cards, consists of indexes to the organization's records of fires, fire losses, and insurance coverage from 1910 to 1919.

The papers of the Upper Mississippi River Improvement Association, consisting of three letter books for the years from 1905 to 1910, ten boxes of correspondence for the period from 1912 to 1917, the minutes of the transportation committee for 1918, and other items have been presented by the St. Paul Public Library. Included are some addresses and correspondence of Thomas Wilkinson, who served as president of the association, and the correspondence of its secretary, Hiram D. Frankel.

Mr. Charles Mason Remey of Washington, D.C., has presented typewritten copies of thirty-five volumes of material relating to his family. The volumes, which were arranged and edited by Mr. Remey, include extracts from diaries, letters, and personal reminiscences of his grandfather, Charles Mason, a pioneer Iowa jurist, and of his parents, Rear Admiral and Mrs. George Remey. They are elaborately illustrated with copies of family portraits, photographs, newspaper clippings, letters, and documents.

The results of a survey, made by the Minnesota Historical Records Survey, of vital statistics records in the state are set forth in a manuscript report presented through the courtesy of Mr. Jacob Hodnefield of St. Paul. It indicates the bulk of the material, the dates covered, the arrangement and indexing of the records, the depositories, and

the custodians. The information is listed by counties, with a summary for the entire state.

Mrs. Ragnhild Brodie of New Orleans and her mother Mrs. E. H. Hobe of St. Paul have presented a handsome carved and painted Norwegian drinking bowl dating from 1777.

A gun barrel dating from the fur-trade period, which was unearthed at Ponemah on the Red Lake Indian Reservation, is the gift of Colonel C. E. Whitney of St. Paul. A forty-five caliber rifle, model of 1879, has been presented by Mr. W. J. Volkert of St. Paul.

Nearly ten thousand negatives of pictures taken in 1940 by photographers for the *Minneapolis Tribune* have been added to the society's collection of negatives. An interesting series of pictures showing the building of a Chippewa canoe has been copied through the courtesy of Mr. H. D. Ayer of Vineland.

Mrs. Charles R. McKenney of North St. Paul has presented files of four newspapers, three of which were edited and published by her husband, the late Charles R. McKenney. For many years McKenney was an active member of the Republican party in Minnesota, and for thirty-four years he was enrolling clerk of the national House of Representatives. Mrs. McKenney's gift consists of files of the *Rushford Star* from August 9, 1877, to August 13, 1885; the *Lake City Sentinel* from August 22, 1885, to August 13, 1887; the *North St. Paul Sentinel* from August 27, 1887, to May 29, 1907; and the *Pepin [Wisconsin] Star* from September 4, 1884, to August 27, 1885. No other file of the latter paper, which was edited and published by George E. Kirkpatrick, is known for the period covered.

A photostatic copy of an article by George Wicker entitled "In the Battle with the Chippewa," which appeared in the *Illustrated Home Journal* of St. Louis for April 1, 1899, has been received from Miss Lillian Wicker of St. Paul, a sister of the author. Wicker was a member of the expedition that went to Leech Lake in October, 1898, to suppress the Indian uprising of that year, and he here records his experiences, particularly in the battle of October 5. The periodical in which Wicker's article appeared was edited by the Reverend J. A. Detzer, who was pastor of the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer of St. Paul in the late 1890's. The article was copied from a rare file

of the *Journal* in the possession of the publishers, the Louis Lange Publishing Company of St. Louis.

Minnesota families are included in several of the genealogies acquired by the society during the last quarter of 1940. Jeremiah Selby, for whom Selby Avenue in St. Paul is named, is mentioned in a *Short Sketch of Some of the Descendants of William Selby* by Fred E. Fowler (Brookfield, Ohio, 1939. 130 p.). The Eastlick family, some of whose members were killed near Lake Shetek in the Sioux Outbreak of 1862, and the Cooley, Day, and other families in Minnesota are traced by Adele Andrews in her *Ancestors and Descendants of Giles and Hannah Cutler Day* (1940. 147 p.).

Part of a letter written by Daniel B. Rice from East Chain Lake, Martin County, on June 24, 1866, is printed in a *History of the Nickey Family in America, 1700 A.D.-1940 A.D.* by Ella M. Milligan (Denver, 1940. 236 p.). An account of the Rice families of Fairmont and Minneapolis and of the Nickey, Murphy, and allied families of Todd County are included in this volume.

The Thorne Family, Its Branches from the Parent Tree by John M. Thorne (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1935. 77 p.) contains a chapter on the Thornes in Hastings, Minnesota, where John L. Thorne started a bank in the late 1850's. The author describes some of his childhood experiences in Hastings and mentions a number of local families, including the Le Ducs, the Donnellys, the Pringles, and the Folletts.

Other genealogies received recently include: Walter D. Barnes, *Barnes-Bailey Genealogy* (Baltimore, Maryland, 1939. 173 p.); Ernest B. Comstock, *The Barnes Lineage, Line of Descent from Thomas Barnes of Hartford, Connecticut* (Dallas, Texas, 1937. 16 p.); Clarissa T. Bass, *Descendants of Deacon Samuel and Ann Bass* (Freeport, Illinois, 1940. 223 p.); Daniel H. Bertolet, *A Genealogical History of the Bertolet Family, Descendants of Jean Bertolet* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1914. 260 p.); Grace C. B. Toler, *Addenda to the Genealogical Record of the Descendants of Richard Blood-Baptist Hicks and Allied Families* (Mounds, Illinois, 1939. 31 p.); Anna A. Wright, *Notes on Nichols-Brown-Moore Families, 1776-1939* (Ithaca, New York, 1939. 23 p.); Lewis L. Burritt, *The Burritt Family in America; Descendants of William Burritt of Stratford, Connecticut* (Rockford, Illinois, 1940. 272

p.) ; Ernest B. Comstock, *The Ancestry of Ernest Bernard Comstock, Dallas, Texas* (Dallas, 1936. 18 p.) ; Ernest B. Comstock, *The Comstock Family in America* (Dallas, Texas, 1938. 41 p.) ; Fred E. Crawford, *The Early Ancestors of the Crawfords in America* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1940. 81 p.) ; John N. Cross, *William Cross of Botetourt Co. Va., and His Descendants, 1733-1932* (Columbia, Missouri, 1932. 258 p.) ; Ruth S. D. Eddy, *The Eddy Family in America; Supplement of 1940* (Boston, 1940. 180 p.) ; Gertrude M. Graves, *A New England Family and Their French Connections* (Boston, 1930. 245 p.) ; Inglis Stuart, *Mayflower Ancestry of Elizabeth Ely Goodrich and Her Descendants* (Rhinebeck, New York, 1932. 239 p.) ; Georgia G. Wisda, *Gosney Family* *Records 1740-1940 and Related Families* (Corydon, Indiana, 1940. 325 p.) ; Irene M. Gower, *Gauer-Gower Family* (Allentown, Pennsylvania, 1939. 68 p.) ; Rollie F. Headlee, *The Headlee Family in America* (Denton, Texas, 1936. 70 p.) ; Aaron and Leah Herschkowitz Family Association, *History Book and Family Tree* (1938. 47 p.) ; Margaret L. Wiesenber, *A Genealogical Record of the Lampert Family* (Lakewood, New Jersey, 1939. 47 p.) ; Pierre-Georges Roy, *La famille de la Porte de Louvigny* (Levis, Canada, 1939. 47 p.) ; Harry S. Blaine, *Some Ancestors and Descendants of Avery Leonard of Seneca County, Ohio* (Toledo, 1933. 42 p.) ; George R. McClure, *The McClure Family of the Line from Richard McClure, Sr.* (McPherson, Kansas, 1938. 6 p.) ; Robert M. Woods, *McDills in America, A History of the Descendants of John McDill and Janet Leslie of County Antrim, Ireland* (Ann Arbor, 1940. 210 p.) ; George R. McClure, *Genealogy, Daniel Martin, His Parents, Five Sisters* (McPherson, Kansas, 1939. 19 p.) ; Bessie P. Lamb, *A Genealogical History of the Poole, Langston, Mason Families and Kindred Lines of Upper South Carolina* (Enoree, South Carolina, 1931. 251 p.) ; Arthur W. Anderson, *The Story of a Pioneer Family (Prendergast)* (Jamestown, New York, 1936. 15 p.) ; Lester D. Prewitt, *Notes on the Prewitt-Light, Ringler-Hollowell and Allied Families* (Forest City, Iowa, 1939. 30 p.) ; Fanny L. S. Meadows, *Descendants of Reade or Reed* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1937. 59 p.) ; Joseph B. Reynolds, *The Peter Reynolds Family of Lawrence County, Pennsylvania* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1940. 46 p.) ; W. C. Sharpe, *Records of the Sharpe Family in England and America from 1580 to 1870* (Seymour, Connecticut, 1874.

34 p.) ; Edward L. Burchard, *Contribution to the Genealogy of the Family of John Shellenberger Who Arrived in America in 1754 from Switzerland* (Chicago, 1939. 123 p.) ; Joseph B. Snyder, *History of the Family of Snyder (Schneider) (Snider) More Particularly of the Branch Headed by Frederick and Son, William of Whitley County, Kentucky* (St. Louis, 1940. 72 p.) ; Willis M. Stebbins, *Genealogy of the Stebbins Family Including Kindred Lines of Swetland, Wilcox and Cheney Families* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1940. 123 p.) ; Dan V. Stephens, *Stephens Family Genealogies, 1690-1938* (Fremont, Nebraska, 1940) ; Elvira S. Bryant, *Genealogical Record of the Stewart Family* (Bolton, Vermont, 1940. 27 p.) ; Anson Titus, *The Titus Family in America* (Dallas, 1938. 20 p.) ; *The Tercentenary Dedicatory Volume of the Tupper Family Association of America, Incorporated* (Worcester, 1940. 93 p.) ; and James L. Wilmeth, *Wilmot-Wilmeth-Wilmeth* (Philadelphia, 1940. 374 p.).

Among local histories added in the last three months of 1940 are : *Vital Statistics Copied from Town Records of Penobscot, Maine* (North Brooksville, Maine, 1940) ; Mollie H. Ash, *Cecil County Maryland Signers of the Oath of Allegiance Sworn by County Justices March 2nd, 1778* (Elkton, Maryland, 1940. 41 p.) ; Clifton Johnson, *Historic Hadley, Quarter Millennial Souvenir, 1659-1909* (Northampton, Massachusetts, 1909. 40 p.) ; *Probate Records of the Province of New Hampshire 1764-1767* (*State Papers Series*, vol. 38—Concord, 1940. 483 p.) ; *Centennial, Saint Mary's Church, Pine Creek, Glenshaw, Pennsylvania* (1940. 95 p.) ; Elsie Murray, *Te-a-o-ga; Annals of a Valley* (Athens, Pennsylvania, 1939. 64 p.) ; Gertrude S. Kimball, *The Correspondence of the Colonial Governors of Rhode Island 1723-1775* (Boston, 1902. 2 vols.) ; Mary J. Canfield, *The Valley of the Kedron; The Story of the South Parish, Woodstock, Vermont* (South Woodstock, 1940. 323 p.) ; C. G. Chamberlayne, *The Vestry Book of St. Paul's Parish, Hanover County, Virginia, 1706-1786* (Richmond, 1940. 672 p.) ; Mary M. Mack, *History of Old Grove Street Cemetery, Danville, Virginia* (Danville, 1939. 54 p.) ; *Two Centuries of Nazareth 1740-1940* (Nazareth, Pennsylvania, 1940. 276 p.).

L. M. F.

NEWS AND COMMENT

"IF CERTAIN TEXTS are doomed to destruction, as wars in the past have destroyed many records of earlier civilizations, we have now, at least, at our disposal methods of preserving their contents through documentary photography," writes Dr. L. Bendikson of the Huntington Library in the *Library Journal* for October 1. He stresses the need for reproducing our documentary treasures and for storing film-slides in safe places in order to ensure their preservation in case of war.

In a discussion of the "History of American Agriculture as a Field of Research," which appears in *Agricultural History* for July, Louis B. Schmidt suggests a number of problems for study in this field. Among them are histories of the public lands, of agricultural industries, of the marketing of agricultural products, of farmers' organizations, and of agricultural education. Biographies of most of the men who have "contributed to the advancement of agriculture" in the United States, including a number of Minnesotans, also remain to be written. Profitable studies of most of the subjects suggested could be made in Minnesota.

In order to provide a "handy guide to the movements of La Salle, which can be used as a check against the literature already published," Father Jean Delanglez has compiled a "Calendar of La Salle's Travels, 1643-1683," which appears in the October number of *Mid-America*. It is the writer's purpose to indicate "where La Salle was during the first forty years of his life, that is, from November 1643 until November 1683, or from the month and year of his birth to the month and year when he left Quebec, never to return to New France." References to sources accompany the entries.

Dr. Elliott Coues is one of the "Ornithologists of the United States Army Medical Corps" whose careers are discussed in detail by Edgar E. Hume in the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* for November. The author brings out Coues's connection with the boundary commission that surveyed the line from the Red River to the Rocky Mountains in 1873 and 1874, and describes the publications

that resulted from his field work in the Canadian border country. Coues's interest in "early explorations west of the Mississippi River" also is noted, and the many valuable documents in this field that he edited and made available to historians are listed. Colonel Hume also is the author of an account of the "Foundation of American Meteorology by the United States Army Medical Department," which appears in the February issue of the *Bulletin*. It includes some mention of weather records kept at Fort Snelling after 1819.

An important paper on "Indian Trade Silver of Canada," recently presented before the Minnesota Archaeological Society by the Canadian anthropologist and ethnologist, Marius Barbeau, is the feature of the October issue of the *Minnesota Archaeologist*. A study of records of the fur trade and of the letters written by traders leads Mr. Barbeau to the conclusion that "North American silversmith . . . can no longer be considered a really ancient one, nor should the Indians be credited with having had much, if anything, to do with its development except in having been willing customers, providing furs at the counter and receiving trinkets and other trade goods in return." He expresses the belief that "silver ornaments found in undated Indian graves in North America" date from the period of the fur trade. Most of the Canadian pieces that he has examined, Mr. Barbeau records, "bear the mark of the silversmiths who made them, nearly all of them from Montreal and Quebec." Many of the ornaments discussed are pictured with the article. In the same issue appear brief illustrated articles by George A. Flaskerd on "Minnesota Silver Trade Articles" and on "Indian Peace Medal Issues," and an account by Wesley R. Hiller of the "Manufacture of Bone Fish-Hooks and Stone Net Sinkers by the Mandans."

The "Promotional Activities of the Northern Pacific's Land Department" are discussed by Siegfried Mickelson in the December issue of the *Journalism Quarterly*. Emphasis is placed on a campaign beginning in 1897 and directed by F. W. Wilsey which had for its object the filling of "unsettled sections of northern Minnesota and North Dakota." It was conducted through the columns of rural weeklies in seven states, chiefly in the Northwest. The writer believes that the enormous growth in population in both Minnesota and North Dakota in the two decades from 1890 to 1910 is evidence of the suc-

cess of the railroad's campaign. The article is based in large part upon the archives of the Northern Pacific Railroad in St. Paul.

The ninetieth anniversary of the founding of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad and of the inauguration of rail service for Aurora, Illinois, was marked at that place on October 21. A wealth of material about the history of the Burlington appears in a special edition of the *Aurora Sunday Beacon-News*, issued on October 20. The expansion of the Burlington from a few miles of road in Illinois in 1850 also is reviewed in the *Morning World-Herald* of Omaha, Nebraska, for September 2, which devotes an entire section to articles about the history of the road. Both papers include occasional references to the portion of the Burlington that connects the Twin Cities with Chicago.

In a series of articles entitled "At Work and Play on the Rivers," appearing in the Sunday issues of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, Dorothy Warren has included several dealing with steamboats and steamboatmen on the upper Mississippi. Her article for October 20 deals with the careers of Captains Henry and William Leyhe, owners of the "Golden Eagle," with which in 1939 they "inaugurated the first through passenger service on the Mississippi river between St. Louis and St. Paul in 23 years." An interview with Chief Engineer Ralph Tinker, reported in the issue for October 27, includes recollections of steamboating on the upper river in the 1890's. A large collection of steamboat pictures owned by Captain Samuel G. Smith of St. Louis is described in the article published on November 3.

Little has been published about the lumber industry, and even less has been recorded of one of its principal figures, Frederick Weyerhaeuser, who dominated the white pine industry of the Northwest for half a century, and whose name, through his descendants, is still associated with the country's leading lumber interests. The lack is partially filled in *Frederick Weyerhaeuser: Pioneer Lumberman* (1940, 62 p.) recently published by Dr. William Bancroft Hill and Mrs. Louise Lindeke Weyerhaeuser. Therein Dr. Hill presents his father-in-law's recollections of his childhood on a farm near Mainz in Germany, his journey and first experiences as an eighteen-year-old immigrant to America in 1852, and his settlement in 1856 at Rock Island, Illinois, where within a few years he and a partner purchased the

lumber mill in which he started as a night fireman. The brief biographical section closes with 1869 and does not touch on the Minnesota scene, though it is said that when Weyerhaeuser first saw the timber on the Chippewa, he "wanted to say nothing about it. It was like the feeling of a man who has discovered a hidden treasure." In another section appear Mrs. Weyerhaeuser's delightful personal recollections of her father-in-law. She tells of his family life, his removal to St. Paul in 1891, and his golden wedding anniversary. Written solely for his grandchildren, the book in no way attempts to offer a formal history of Weyerhaeuser's astonishing career, but in the character sketch of the man much of his later success is suggested. The story of what occurred between Weyerhaeuser's purchase of the Rock Island mill and the golden wedding is still to be written. Its record "remains only in old account books, abandoned dams, cutover lands and flourishing towns. . . . Farms stand where stately pine trees stood; railroads that once were solely for carrying logs are now parts of continental systems." It is to be hoped that this history will some day be given to the Northwest.

S. A. D.

An address on *The Mid-West Lumber Cycle*, presented by Laird Bell before the American branch of the Newcomen Society meeting in Chicago on November 2, 1939, has been published as a pamphlet (1940. 36 p.). The author's intimate association with the lumber industry of Wisconsin and Minnesota gives a special value to his account of its rise and decline. He describes the westward movement of the lumber industry, which was motivated by the "appetite of the country for wood"; he explains early logging methods, practices, and terms; and he describes some of the personalities who developed the industry. Among the latter, Mr. Bell gives a prominent place to Frederick Weyerhaeuser, the "man who became in later years the unquestioned leader of the industry." The story of his operations on the Chippewa River in Wisconsin is presented in some detail.

Students of immigration history should find much of interest and value in *Common Ground*, a new periodical issued under the editorship of Louis Adamic by the Common Council for American Unity. It undertakes, among other things, "to further an appreciation of what each group has contributed to America." Prominent among the groups represented in the initial number are the Swedes, whose role in the settlement of the Northwest is discussed by Professor

George M. Stephenson in an article entitled "When America Was the Land of Canaan." This is a condensed version of an article by the same author which appeared in the issue of *Minnesota History* for September, 1929. An "America Ballad" of Swedish origin appears both in the original language and in a translation. Of more general interest is Dr. Arthur M. Schlesinger's article on "Immigrants in America."

From Many Lands by Louis Adamic is an honest attempt to give the point of view, and picture the American background, of some of the immigrants of the past fifty years and their descendants (New York, 1940. 350 p.). From the histories of Croatians, Armenians, Greeks, Slovenians, and others, the author has made a very interesting book, and one needed for a better understanding of the American people. I found most fascinating the story of "Ma" Karas from Bohemia and the saga of the Polish family; I thought least interesting the long, personally told story of the American-born Japanese youth. Minnesota appears seldom in the book except in the chapter called "The Finnish Americans," which is comparatively short, but well done. It starts with the story of an Oregon Finn, a seventy-five-year-old fruit rancher who is like many a Minnesota homesteader in his thrift, his love of his land, and his unceasing hard work to improve it. Uneducated—as he left Finland in 1890, when it was under Russian rule—he is intelligent and likes good things—the *Kalevala*, of course, and Sibelius' music, as he hears it with his sons and their families on the gramophone. They are all proud of the old log cabin, still standing on their land, which was the first building of the homestead—and this might well be on a Finnish farm in St. Louis County.

Mr. Adamic says, in speaking of Finnish miners in Michigan and Minnesota: "Traditionally, the Finns are farmers, woodsmen, trappers and fishermen, with a passion for the open, silent places, and disposed to go into difficult enterprises without a boss over them; and so a large proportion of them got out of the mining and smelter towns and camps as soon as they saved enough to go on the land." As we know, the land was rocky and full of stumps, but the Finns were used to that, and "In the Great Lakes country one still hears it said that the language best understood by the stumps and boulders is Finnish." There is a good deal about the Finnish co-operatives, which the author

thinks a valuable expression of the well-known "Finnish clannishness." He gives credit to the strong influence of the Lutheran church, even among Finns who are not church members; he does not mention the important cultural groups, such as the Kaleva Society and the numerous choral clubs, which have a social and educational influence. While the revival in recent years of the old custom of celebrating *Laskiainen* (Shrove Tuesday) is given attention, there is no mention of the popular, wide-spread, and enduring celebration of Midsummer Day. *From Many Lands* finds that most Finns have improved their lot by coming to the United States, and have responded with gratitude and loyalty. In 1898 a Minnesota settler wrote to his brother in Finland: "I have come to love this immense land, with its broad sky line, great lakes, limitless wilderness, and freedom."

MARJORIE EDGAR

A sketch of "George W. Patten: Poet Laureate of the Army" is contributed by Philip D. Jordan to the fall number of the *Journal of the American Military Institute*. After his graduation from West Point in 1830, Patten served with the Second United States Infantry at various frontier posts, including several in Minnesota and Dakota.

Students of Northwest history will find useful a compact *Guide to Depositories of Manuscript Collections in the United States: Iowa*, which has been compiled and issued by the Iowa Historical Records Survey (Des Moines, 1940). The arrangement is by cities having libraries with manuscript holdings. Each library is briefly described, with information about its staff, its hours, its building, and its field of interest. This is followed by a statement about the size and nature of its manuscript holdings, with the names of individuals for whom collections of letters are available. A convenient index adds to the value of the *Guide*.

William J. Petersen is the author of a series of five articles on "The Beginnings of Dubuque" that appear in the November issue of the *Palimpsest*. In the first, which bears the title "The El Dorado of Iowa," the writer gives a general picture of the upper Mississippi region and tells of the explorers whose narratives introduced it to prospective settlers.

The beginnings of settlement in the vicinities of Prairie du Chien, Dubuque, and Galena are discussed by Glenn T. Trewartha in the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* for June in an article bearing the title "A Second Epoch of Destructive Occupance in the Driftless Hill Land (1760-1832: Period of British, Spanish and Early American Control)." Although the area under consideration includes part of what is now southeastern Minnesota, no specific references to that section are made.

The comments of two Minnesotans—Nathan Myrick and Dr. Lafayette H. Bunnell—on "The Mormons of Mormon Coulee" near La Crosse are quoted by Albert H. Sanford in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for December. Myrick, who was one of the founders of La Crosse, removed to St. Paul in 1848, and Dr. Bunnell was a pioneer settler on the west bank of the Mississippi near Winona. Both could recall the little colony of Mormons from Nauvoo, Illinois, who settled in a valley south of La Crosse in the 1840's. Of considerable Minnesota interest also is an article in the same magazine on the "Life of John Lawler" of Prairie du Chien by William B. Faherty. In the spring of 1874 Lawler completed the pontoon bridge across the Mississippi between Prairie du Chien and North McGregor, and, according to this account, he later built similar structures at Stillwater and Wabasha. Lawler's interest in Irish Catholic colonies in Minnesota and other states also is mentioned. One of his sons, Daniel Lawler, became a prominent St. Paul lawyer and politician. In the same issue, P. L. Scanlan discusses "The Military Record of Jefferson Davis in Wisconsin."

Nathan Myrick figures prominently in a sketch of Harmon J. B. Miller which appears in series 5 of the *La Crosse County Historical Sketches*, a publication of the La Crosse County Historical Society (1940). Both men settled on the site of La Crosse in the early 1840's and there they were associated in business and were among the owners of the original townsite. Another article of more than local interest is an account of "Boys' Games and Sports" of the period following the Civil War, by Dr. D. S. McArthur. He explains such games as "duck-on-the-rock" and "one-old-cat," and tells of hunting and fishing expeditions, picnics, and boat rides that the pioneer boy enjoyed. Mention should be made also of an article by Harold Weisse

on "Types of Architecture Illustrated in La Crosse and Vicinity," since the cabins, stores, and residences of the Wisconsin frontier probably were much like those erected in Minnesota.

Brief sketches of the forts that have existed since 1738 on or near the site of Winnipeg are presented by F. W. Howay in an account of "Some National Historic Sites in Western Canada," in the *Canadian Geographical Journal* for October. The list includes Fort Rouge, Fort Gibraltar, Fort Garry, Lower Fort Garry, and Fort Douglas.

In a pamphlet entitled *A Story of the Early Days of the Company in Western Canada*, the St. Paul Fire and Marine Insurance Company presents an interesting record of its beginnings in Winnipeg in 1866. It uses as a point of departure an advertisement of its Red River agency appearing in the *Nor'-Wester* for November 3, 1866. This advertisement, which is signed by the company's local agent, R. C. Burdick, is reproduced in the pamphlet. Some information about early policies written at Winnipeg is drawn from an old ledger in the company's home office in St. Paul. A sketch of Burdick also is included.

GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

The diaries and letters of Ignatius Donnelly are copiously quoted in a series of "Nininger Notes" that have been appearing in the *Hastings Gazette* since July 26, 1940. The passages were selected and the connecting narrative was provided by Elsa Krauch, hostess at the Donnelly House at Nininger. The story of Donnelly's trip to Minnesota in the spring of 1856 and of his search for an appropriate townsite in the new territory is covered in the installments published from July 26 to September 27. It opens with the youthful traveler's impressions of Chicago, which looked to him "as if a gigantic board-yard had been worked up over night into a multitude of small half-finished houses, and these had been dropped at random over the face of a dead flat prairie." Then follow Donnelly's accounts of a visit to Iowa City, of the voyage up the Mississippi from Davenport, of the settlements along the river, and of his arrival in St. Paul. The diarist records his meeting there with John Nininger, and tells of their visits to various townsite locations. Donnelly "considered Manomin," writes Miss Krauch, "he nibbled at Chisago City, he visited

Kaposia, and he lingered at Pine Bend long enough to price the land with interest—but none of these appealed to him as did the plateau he had noted” on his trip upstream. Finally, he and Nininger “paid large prices for the farms” occupied by John Bassett, Peter Caleff, and Jesse M. Stone, and established the town of Nininger. After October 4, Miss Krauch contributes only occasional articles based upon Donnelly’s later diaries and papers. In her article for November 15, she records that over three hundred visitors from eleven states went through the Donnelly House during the season of 1940.

Before the end of 1940, the Minnesota Historical Records Survey completed and published five more volumes in its *Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota*. In them are listed records found in the courthouses of Chippewa County at Montevideo (no. 12—177 p.), of Meeker County at Litchfield (no. 47—119 p.), of Otter Tail County at Fergus Falls (no. 56—184 p.), of Renville County at Olivia (no. 65—132 p.), and of Rice County at Faribault (no. 66—128 p.). Each volume includes a historical sketch of the county covered, an account of its governmental organization, and some notes on the housing and care of its records. It is noteworthy that inventories for twenty-seven counties had been made available in published form before January 1.

The vast amount of work accomplished by the eight sessions of the Minnesota legislature that convened during the territorial period is “shown fully and comprehensively in the volume of Statutes of Minnesota 1849–1858” writes William Codman in an article on the “Beginning of Government in Minnesota” which appears in installments in the *Winona Republican-Herald* from December 26 to 31. This and other volumes in the author’s personal library serve as the basis for his narrative, which opens with an explanation of French and British claims in Minnesota East and West. He tells how parts of what is now Minnesota were included in the Louisiana Purchase and in Wisconsin and Iowa territories, and he describes the organization of Minnesota Territory in 1849. An account of the first meeting of the territorial legislature in the Central House in St. Paul is followed by a brief analysis of the “Territorial code” produced by this and successive legislative sessions. Special attention is given to the creation of the original counties of the territory, and an account is

included of the authorization for and results of the census of 1857. The framing of the state constitution and the admission to statehood are described. The acquisition of Indian lands, particularly through the treaties of 1851, is noted; and some attention is given to Supreme Court decisions relating to Indian land titles and their application to the Carver claim. The Winona County members of the territorial legislatures are listed, and other material of special interest in southeastern Minnesota is included.

An important contribution to the recorded history of higher education in Minnesota is President Guy Stanton Ford's biennial report for 1938-40, a section of which has been published by the University of Minnesota Press in a pamphlet entitled *The Making of the University: An Unorthodox Report* (1940. 62 p.). Therein Dr. Ford, "who knew intimately all his predecessors," characterizes their personalities—Dr. Folwell, with whose arrival in 1869 the "university's history became a navigable stream"; Dr. Northrop, who "put flesh upon its bones, assurance in its bearing, and light in its eye"; Dr. Vincent, whose "vitality and dynamic personality . . . will long be remembered"; Dr. Burton, the "first native of Minnesota to be president of the university"; and Dr. Coffman, "an acknowledged leader among schoolmen . . . whose powers of growth made him at the time of his death an outstanding educational statesman." Dr. Ford discusses the university as a "vantage point from which to view the mind and working of American democracy," and stresses the importance to the institution of the "combination in our population of the early New England and seaboard pioneers and the . . . later settlers of European origin of those nationalities whose intelligence and enterprise and traditions made them sons of the American spirit before they had learned the language."

"Memories of Minnesota" university in the early 1890's, when she was a student there, and from 1899 to 1912, when she served on the faculty, are presented by President Ada L. Comstock of Radcliffe College in the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly* for November 30. She gives special emphasis to changes that she witnessed in the position of women on the campus.

The history of the Minnesota Federation of Women's Clubs is exploited in a section of the *Minneapolis Star Journal* for October 24,

which marks the fiftieth anniversary of the organization. Mrs. M. A. Crinkley presents some "Facts about the Federation's Growth" since 1890, giving attention both to the national and the state organizations. A survey of the "First Fifty Years" by Mrs. H. B. Ritchie is included, as are some recollections of "Early Club Days" by Mrs. Cyrus Wells.

A short sketch of "The Missionary as Practitioner: Dr. Thomas Smith Williamson," by Dr. Arthur S. Hamilton, serves as an introduction for the reprinting of two articles by Dr. Williamson in the October and November issues of *Minnesota Medicine*, where they form sections of an extensive "History of Medicine in Minnesota." The missionary's account of "Diseases of the Dakota Indians" is reprinted from the *Northwestern Medical and Surgical Journal* of 1873 and 1874; his report on "Dakota Medicine" appeared originally in 1869 in Stephen R. Riggs's *Tah-koow Wah-kan; or the Gospel among the Dakotas*. Their inclusion in the present series makes these early Minnesota medical studies available to physicians throughout the Northwest. The "History" is continued in the December issue of *Minnesota Medicine* with the first installment of a "History of Medicine in Dakota County."

Two *Social Studies* prepared with WPA assistance and issued recently by the Minneapolis board of education include some material of local historical interest. A section on the "Origin and Development of the Minnesota State Board of Health" appears in a volume on *Trends in Health and Medicine* (1939. 96 p.), and statistics on certain communicable diseases in the state are given in a supplement issued in 1940. A study of *Industry in Minnesota* (1940. 105 p.) devotes some space to industries of the "past and present," giving emphasis to lumbering and flour milling.

The address on the "Development of the Motorbus Industry on the Mesabi Range" which Mr. L. A. Rossman of Grand Rapids presented before the Mountain Iron session of the eighteenth state historical convention on August 10, 1940, has been published as a pamphlet entitled *A Romance of Transportation* (15 p.). Mr. Rossman has provided several interesting illustrations, including a group picture of twelve of the eighteen motorbusses that the Mesaba Transportation Company was operating in 1918.

Interviews with and letters from pioneers, newspaper files, and county records have been used extensively by Anna Himrod in compiling a volume recently issued in multigraphed form by the Minnesota Historical Records Survey. It is entitled *The Cuyuna Range: A History of a Minnesota Iron Mining District* (1940, 168 p.) and, according to the "Preface" of Mr. Jacob Hodnefield, it provides a "fresh approach in a new field," since the story of iron mining in this locality "has been largely unrecorded." Here are presented brief chapters on early references to ore in the region, the beginnings of exploration for iron, the formation of mining companies, railroad building, early ore shipments, the opening of certain mines, the war boom, and the like. Almost a third of the volume is given over to statistical tables, a chronology, and directories of mines and mining companies.

An interview with Mrs. Marcia Doughty Pike, a Minnesota pioneer who was a child of ten at Mankato when the guilty Sioux were executed following the outbreak of 1862, is reported by Mary Evelyn Young in the *Sunday Oregonian* of Portland, Oregon, for November 17. A contemporary view of the hanging at Mankato, still in Mrs. Pike's possession, is reproduced with the article. She removed to Oregon after her marriage to Alonzo Pike in 1869, and she has since been a resident of that state.

Historians as well as naturalists will find articles of interest and value in the *Conservation Volunteer*, the new monthly periodical of the Minnesota conservation department (see *ante*, 21: 440). Paul R. Highby, for example, contributes to the November issue the "Story of Minnesota Beaver," telling how the animal once so important to the local fur trader has again become plentiful in an area from which it had all but vanished. The "Historic Nerstrand Woods" and the Big Woods area of which it was once a part are the subject of an article by Harvey Stork in the same issue, and Gustav Swanson is the author of an account of the "American Elk in Minnesota." Some interesting pictures of the "Wild Rice Harvest" of 1940 in Hubbard County also appear in the November number.

Biographical sketches of more than forty individuals who attained prominence after emigrating from the Scandinavian countries to the

United States are presented in part 6 of a series of multigraphed volumes on *Immigrant Contributions to American Life* (1940. 80 p.), prepared under WPA auspices and published by the office of the county superintendent of schools of Los Angeles County, California. As is to be expected, sketches of a number of Minnesotans are included in the present volume. Among the Norwegians whose careers are reviewed are Jacob Fjelde, the sculptor; Olive Fremstad, the opera singer; and Martha Ostenso and O. E. Rølvåag, the novelists. The list of immigrants from Sweden includes three prominent figures in the political history of Minnesota—A. O. Eberhart, John Lind, and Charles A. Lindbergh. Part 5 of the same series, which is devoted to "persons who changed their citizenship from Canada to the United States" (1939. 78 p.), includes a sketch of James J. Hill. Each volume is accompanied by a detailed bibliography.

Biographies of some prominent Minnesotans appear in volume 11 of the new series of the *Encyclopedia of American Biography*, recently issued under the editorial direction of Winfield S. Downs (New York, 1940). Included are sketches of Drs. Charles H. and William J. Mayo; of Senator Frank B. Kellogg; of John C. Acheson, president of Macalester College; of Harry H. Whiting and Samuel E. Smith, business executives; of Colonel Cephas W. Carpenter, a pioneer stagecoach operator; of William P. Kenney, who served as president of the Great Northern Railroad; of William F. Darling, a civil engineer; and of Emerson W. and William F. Peet, insurance executives.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

At a meeting of the Anoka County Historical Society, held at Anoka on December 9, the following officers were elected: Paul C. Heard, president; Miss Julia DeLong, vice-president; Lynn French, treasurer; Theodore A. E. Nelson, secretary; and Mrs. L. J. Greenwald, corresponding secretary. Quarterly meetings to be held in March, June, September, and December were planned for the coming year.

Miss Alice Braden was named president of the Becker County Historical Society at a meeting held at Detroit Lakes on December 3. Other officers elected at the same meeting include Mr. Walter Bird, vice-president; Mrs. E. J. Bestick, secretary; and Mr. Joseph Rund-

lett, treasurer. A review of the article on "Steamboat Transportation on the Red River" by Marion H. Herriot, which appeared in the September issue of this magazine, was presented by Miss Braden.

Some recent additions to the museum of the Blue Earth County Historical Society are described in the *Mankato Free Press* for October 23. Among them is a rosewood spinet that was purchased by James A. Stewart of Northfield for his daughter in 1864. The use of the museum collections by pupils from a fourth grade class in the Mankato State Teachers College is noted in the *Free Press* for October 10. The pupils in this class were making a special study of local history and were compiling a booklet of materials relating to the subject.

The museum of the Carver County Historical Society, which is located in the school building at Mayer, arranged a special opening before the society's annual meeting on October 18. More than a thousand items have been assembled and placed on display since the society was organized early in the summer of 1940. All the officers of the society, of which Mr. O. D. Sell of Mayer is president, were re-elected at the meeting in the village hall which followed the opening of the museum. In the *Waconia Patriot* for November 14, Mr. Sell explains "What a Historical Society Means to Carver County," and in the same paper for November 28 he lists some of the objects that will be welcome additions to its museum collection.

At the annual meeting of the Chippewa County Historical Society, which was held at Montevideo on October 17, Mr. Joseph Geroy was re-elected president, the Reverend Walter B. Beach was named vice-president, Miss Petra Storaker and Mrs. L. N. Pierce were elected recording and corresponding secretaries, and Mrs. Chester Charter was named treasurer. Some recent exhibits in the society's museum, especially a display of objects found during the recent excavations on the Lac qui Parle mission site, are described in the *Montevideo American* for October 11. Some information is given also about the indexing of newspapers in the society's files.

The Hennepin County Historical Society continued to hold regular meetings throughout the fall and early winter months. At a meeting held in Minneapolis on October 2, Mr. Arthur T. Adams showed a series of early views of Hennepin County and explained them in an

informal talk. On October 30, members of the society gathered in Eden Prairie, where a round-table discussion of pioneer days in the vicinity was led by Mrs. Victor C. Anderson. An address on "The County Historical Society and Its Work" by Dr. Arthur J. Larsen of the state historical society was the feature of a meeting at Edina on November 27. On the same occasion, Mrs. Jennie Pratt, a pioneer resident of Minneapolis, spoke on early days in that city.

Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society, spoke on the "Indians in the Lake Pepin Valley" before a meeting of the Lake Pepin Valley Historical Society on October 8. Officers elected for the coming year include Mr. R. C. Bartlett, president; Mr. Francis Kemp, vice-president; Mr. Emil Bombach, secretary; and Mr. M. L. Erikson, treasurer. At a meeting of the society on December 11, Dr. Grace Lee Nute, curator of manuscripts for the state historical society, discussed some "Interesting Side-lights on the Early French Explorations in Lake Pepin Valley," giving special attention to French posts in the area.

Permanent officers for the newly organized McLeod County Historical Society (*see ante*, 21:444) were elected at a meeting held at Glencoe on October 29. They are Mr. S. S. Beach of Hutchinson, president; Mrs. Isabelle Zrust of Glencoe, vice-president; Mrs. Harry White of Hutchinson, secretary; and Mr. W. S. Clay of Hutchinson, treasurer. Plans were made for quarterly meetings to be held in various parts of the county. Notes about the society's activities and additions to the museum at Hutchinson appear from time to time in the *Hutchinson Banner* and the *Hutchinson Leader*.

Judge Nels M. Egen of Warren was elected president of the Marshall County Historical Society at a meeting held at Warren in December. Other officers named at the same time include O. M. Mattson, vice-president; Mrs. W. A. Knapp, secretary; and Mrs. J. J. Pagnac, treasurer.

Plans for the organization of a historical society in Meeker County were made at a meeting held at Litchfield on December 13. A committee of which Mr. H. I. Peterson is chairman and Mr. D. N. Tharalson, secretary, was named to make plans for a permanent organization.

Recent additions to the collections of the Nicollet County Historical Society are listed in the *St. Peter Herald* for October 25. Included is a bottle used by a pioneer St. Peter druggist in 1858, several items from the homes of early Norwegian settlers in the county, and portraits and group pictures of several pioneers.

The report on the activities of the Otter Tail County Historical Society in 1940 presented at its annual meeting on November 30 by its secretary, Mr. E. T. Barnard, is reviewed in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* for December 2. Among the society's recent accessions is a painting of Fergus Falls in 1880, which was displayed in connection with the meeting. The principal address of the session was presented by Dr. Arthur J. Larsen, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, who discussed the local historical society and its work.

Plans for monthly meetings and for a more active program of collecting were made by the Polk County Historical Society at Crookston on December 8. Judge Nels B. Hansen was named president of the organization, Dr. Paul Hagen was elected vice-president, Mrs. Bert Levins, secretary, and Mr. John Saugstad, treasurer.

Mr. Frank H. Klemer was the principal speaker at a meeting of the Rice County Historical Society held at Faribault on October 22. He presented a detailed "History of Faribault Woolen Mills, 1865-1940," reviewing the development of an important local industry of which he is president. His paper appears in full in the *Faribault Daily News* for October 24 and 25. Officers elected at the same meeting include Mr. Carl L. Weicht of Northfield, president; Mrs. Howard Bratton of Faribault, vice-president; Miss Laura Babcock of Northfield, secretary; Miss Mabel Pierce of Faribault, corresponding secretary; Mr. Donald Scott of Faribault, treasurer; and Mrs. H. C. Theopold, curator. A talk, illustrated with lantern slides, on the early history of Northfield, was presented by the historical society's newly elected president before members of the Northfield Lion's Club on December 9.

A recent addition to the list of local historical societies in Minnesota is that in Sibley County, which was organized at Henderson on

October 11. Dr. Arthur J. Larsen, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, addressed those who had assembled to organize the new society, explaining the work of such societies and their significance in the community and the state. Temporary officers were elected; they are A. L. Poehler, president; Arthur Sander, vice-president; Einar Rogstad, secretary; and G. A. Buck, treasurer.

"An Illustrated Ramble through Minnesota History" was presented by Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society, at the annual meeting of the Stearns County Historical Society, which was held in St. Cloud on November 30. Talks on the significance of the local society's museum and on its collections were given by Mr. E. Stockinger and Mr. E. J. Peterson. The Reverend Walter Reger of St. John's University was elected president of the organization. Other officers for the coming year include D. S. Brainard, vice-president; Mrs. Otto Metzroth, secretary; and J. B. Pattison, treasurer.

The log cabin that is now being used as a museum by the Waseca County Historical Society was open to visitors on two Saturday afternoons in October. A marker indicating the site of the first white settlement in the county was dedicated by the society on October 6. The addresses presented on this occasion by Chief Justice Henry M. Gallagher of St. Paul and Judge Fred W. Senn of Waseca are outlined in the *Waseca Herald* for October 10. A review of the society's work during the past year appears in the *Herald* for December 5.

Experiences as a member of the Stillwater fire department during more than forty years were recalled by James McGann in a talk before the Washington County Historical Society on October 7. At a meeting at Bayport on December 12, Miss Bertha L. Heilbron of the state historical society described "Some Frontier Holiday Celebrations" in Minnesota, and the Reverend C. E. Benson of Stillwater recalled some of the customs associated with the observance of Christmas in Sweden.

LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

Brief accounts of some of the steamboats that plied the waters of the upper Mississippi River in Aitkin and Crow Wing counties from 1870 to 1916 are presented by Mrs. T. B. Morris in the *Aitkin Repub-*

lican for November 7. A picture of one of these boats, the "Oriole," appears with the article. The *Republican* for October 10 includes the report of an interview with Tom Skinnaway, a Chippewa Indian of the Swatara district of Aitkin County. He recalls some of his experiences as United States marshal among the red men, and tells stories of the long conflict between the Chippewa and the Sioux. The fears aroused in Aitkin by the Leech Lake uprising of 1898 are the subject of an article in the *Republican* for December 19.

The final installment of the recollections of LeRoy G. Davis, a pioneer resident of Brown County, is published in the *Sleepy Eye Herald-Dispatch* for December 5. Sections of this interesting and unusual narrative of frontier life have been appearing in that paper since January 11, 1940 (see *ante*, 21: 210).

The opening to settlement in 1900 of four townships, the "last free land" to be homesteaded in Clearwater County, is recalled in the *Farmers Independent* of Bagley for November 28. Accompanying the account is a reproduction of an advertisement that was widely circulated at the time from Bagley, where the land office was located. Many of the settlers who filed claims in Clearwater County in 1900 are listed in the article.

That early settlers of Cottonwood County believed that there were coal beds in the vicinity is brought out by E. E. Gillam in an article in the *Windom Reporter* for December 27. The writer quotes reports of the finding of coal from a local newspaper of 1876, and he tells of Governor Stephen Miller's interest in the matter.

The issue of the *Dodge Center Star-Record* for November 14 is a fiftieth anniversary edition, commemorating the establishment of the *Dodge County Star* by Edgar Stivers in 1890. A review of the career of Mr. Stivers, who is still connected with the paper, appears in the issue with an account of the history of the *Star-Record*. There is also a list of business houses that were located in Dodge Center when the paper was founded.

How the city of Rushford was incorporated in 1868 and the village of the same name originated in 1885 is explained in an article in the *Winona Republican-Herald* for December 14. According to this account, the city is completely surrounded by the village, which corre-

sponds in outline to the township. Some information about early settlement in the vicinity is included.

A section on "Agricultural History and Statistics" is included in a pamphlet by P. R. McMiller and others dealing with a *Soil Survey of Kanabec County, Minnesota* (43 p.). The booklet has been issued by the bureau of chemistry and soils of the United States department of agriculture as series 1933, no. 27. It traces the development of agriculture in the county from 1856, when Brunswick Township was settled and farming began in the area.

The South Fork Grange in Kanabec County is the subject of a historical sketch appearing in two installments in the *Ogilvie Sentinel* for December 5 and 12. The grange was organized in March, 1932, with thirty-nine charter members.

The fact that the history of Kittson County had not previously been made the subject of a published volume lends special interest to *Kittson County (A School History)*, compiled by workers engaged in the Minnesota WPA writers' project and issued under the joint sponsorship of the Minnesota department of education and the Kittson County Historical Society (1940. 69 p.). Much useful information is included in this work, which in seven chapters and an appendix surveys the story of Minnesota's northwesternmost county from the glacial period to the twentieth century. There are chapters on the Indians, on explorers and fur traders, on the colorful "Pembina Period," on the organization and early settlement of the county, on pioneer social life, and on the changes wrought by the present century. The difficulty encountered in locating material for the later chapters is noted in the introduction—the local pioneers "simply did the work that had to be done, and in it they saw nothing that was momentous or worthy of being set down for historians of the future. Consequently little documentary historical material is to be found." There are many errors in the earlier chapters; La Vérendrye, for example, did not reach the Lake of the Woods in 1731 (p. 12), and a mention of "Alexander Henry, Jr., " (p. 24) is doubtless intended as a reference to the nephew of the elder Alexander Henry.

The issue of the *Le Center Leader* for October 31 commemorates the fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation of the village. A feature of the number is a detailed chronology, based upon a file of the *Leader*

and covering the years from 1895 to 1929. Among special articles included are a brief history of the *Leader*, a short historical sketch of LeSueur County, and an account of the ginseng trade conducted by the pioneer settlers of the region. Some interesting reminiscences are contributed by Mr. and Mrs. C. V. Kegley, who continue their narrative in the issue of the *Leader* for November 14.

Some of the early history of St. Paul, particularly of its Catholic community, is sketched in a review of the "Story of St. Bernard's Parish," which appears in a booklet issued to commemorate its *Golden Jubilee* (St. Paul, 1940. 107 p.). St. Bernard's is described as a "filial parish" of the Assumption Church, which has been a center for Catholic activity in St. Paul since 1856. Priests who have served St. Bernard's parish since 1890, its parochial school, the church building, the services to the parish of members of the Benedictine Order, the choir, and many other phases of church history are touched upon.

Students of agricultural history will find of interest and value a year-by-year review of the progress of the Renville County Farm Bureau appearing in the *Franklin Tribune* for November 7. The history of the organization is based upon its records, which cover the years from 1913 to 1940. The educational work of the 4-H Club, which like the Farm Bureau was organized in Renville County in 1913, is the subject of another article in the same issue of the *Tribune*.

The eighty-fifth anniversary of the founding of Northfield is the occasion for the publication, with the *Northfield News* of October 31, of a special "Pioneer Days" section. Featured therein is an article by Carl L. Weicht on the early settlement of the Cannon Valley and the founding of the city in 1855 by John W. North. How he selected the site, acquired the land, surveyed and platted the town, and built a mill are recounted. Other articles in the section deal with the settlement of the Big Woods area, with the story of the Northfield Lyceum, with an early business structure known as the Scrivener Block, and with the town's early churches. Among notable illustrations are a view of Bridge Square about 1875, a picture of the Lyceum Building, a Cannon River panorama showing some of the early mills, and a number of interesting portraits.

The role of Charles F. Johnson in the early history of Duluth and the interesting record of life there that he left in the form of diaries

and sketches are briefly described by Jack McBride in an illustrated feature article appearing in the *Duluth News-Tribune* for November 17. Half a dozen of Johnson's sketches of the Duluth region are reproduced with the article. The writer announces the recent gift of the Johnson collection to the Minnesota Historical Society (see *ante*, 21: 414).

A history of the Salem Mission Church of West Duluth by Erik Dahlhielm is presented in a booklet entitled *Fifty Years with Christ*, issued to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the church in 1940 (20 p.). The church was organized by a group of Swedish immigrants in October, 1890.

The conditions under which a railroad engineer of the 1870's worked are recalled in an article by William H. Neal appearing in the *Watonwan County Plaindealer* for December 12. Neal began service with the Minnesota Valley Railway in 1869. Most of the experiences that he recalls had their setting in St. James, which was reached by the railroad in 1870.

The founding of a newspaper at Monticello by George Gray in the late 1850's is recalled by his son, C. W. Gray, in some "Reminiscences" appearing in the *Monticello Times* for October 10. Mr. Gray lists the various owners and editors of the paper, describes its early equipment and policies, and recalls some of his own boyhood experiences in its office. In a second group of recollections, published in the *Times* for November 14, Mr. Gray recalls some of the characters who were familiar figures in frontier Monticello.

The story of the Farmers Union in Wright County is outlined by Mrs. David Johnson in the *Farmers Union Herald* of South St. Paul for October. She undertook to record the story of the Union in her home county, she writes, because "when we understand the troubles of the union here, we understand the problems of the average farmer." The Wright County local was organized, according to Mrs. Johnson, in 1919 as the result of the efforts of George Blodgett of Waverly, who had enjoyed the benefits of Union membership at his former home in Iowa.

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